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Welcome to Goldwin Smith - 1864.

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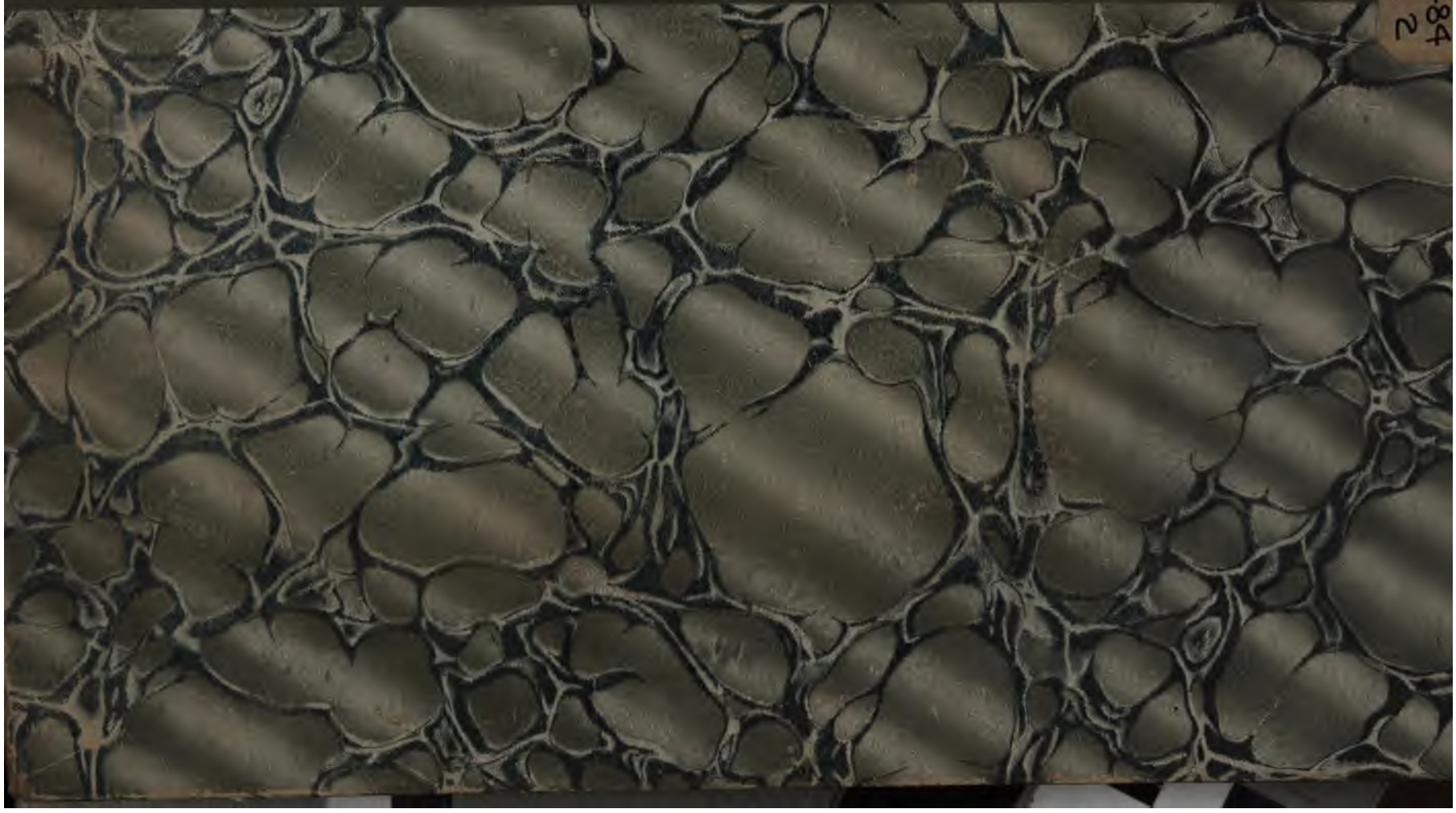

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1918

WELCOME

TO

GOLDWIN SMITH,

BY

CITIZENS OF NEW YORK.

WELCOME

TO

GOLDWIN SMITH,

REGIUS PROFESSOR OF MODERN HISTORY
IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD, ENGLAND,

BY

CITIZENS OF NEW YORK,

AT A BREAKFAST GIVEN AT THE ROOMS OF THE UNION LEAGUE CLUB,
UNION SQUARE,

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 12, 1864.

"I suspect that this great community of labour bears in it, with all its faults, something not uncared for in the councils of Providence, and which Providence will not let die."—GOLDWIN SMITH'S *Letter to a Whig Member, &c.*

"This is the first war for many a day in which the common soldier has been fighting for his own cause, and in which, if victorious, he will share the fruits of victory."—*Ib.*

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1864.

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1918

WELCOME

TO

PROF. GOLDWIN SMITH,

BY

CITIZENS OF NEW YORK.

A Complimentary Breakfast was given to Professor GOLDWIN SMITH, at the Rooms of the Union League Club, on Union Square, New York, on Saturday Morning, the 12th November.

The following Gentlemen joined in the Invitation:

CHARLES BUTLER,
JOHN C. HAMILTON,
WM. CURTIS NOYES, LL. D.,
Hon. HORACE GREELEY,
Editor of the *New York Tribune*,
Hon. H. J. RAYMOND,
Editor of the *New York Times*,
Rev. H. W. BELLOWS, D. D.,
Prest. of U. S. Sanitary Commission,
FRANCIS LIEBER, LL. D.,
Prof. History Columbia College,
Pr. VINCENZO BOTTA, Ph. D.,
ELLIOT C. COWDIN,
Col. JAMES MCKAYE,
WM. H. WEBB,
GEO. C. WARD,
ISAAC FERRIS, D. D.,
Chancellor of the University,
WM. ALLEN BUTLER,
Hon. SAM'L B. RUGGLES, LL. D.
Hon. WM. E. DODGE,
WM. H. OSBORN,
A. GRACIE KING,
C. A. BRISTED,
CYRUS W. FIELD,
T. B. CODDINGTON,
WM. J. HOPPIN,
CHARLES H. MARSHALL,
ALFRED PELL,
JONATHAN STURGES,
President Union League Club, New York,
HORACE WEBSTER, LL. D.,
Principal of the Free Academy,
JOHN JAY,
WM. CULLEN BRYANT,
WM. M. EVARTS,
PARKE GODWIN,
Editor of the *Evening Post*,
F. A. P. BARNARD, LL. D.,
President of Columbia College,
W. T. BLODGETT,
GEO. GRISWOLD,
Hon. CHAS. P. KIRKLAND,
JAMES BROWN,
JOHN E. WILLIAMS,
A. A. LOW,
President of the Chamber of Commerce,
JOHN AUSTIN STEVENS, Jr.,
Secretary of the Chamber of Commerce,
GEORGE T. STRONG,
JOHN C. GREEN,
RICHARD M. HUNT,
GEORGE W. BLUNT,
JOHN A. WEEKS,
OTIS D. SWAN,
Col. L. G. B. CANNON,
THEODORE ROOSEVELT,
C. E. DETMOLD.

Among the distinguished guests invited to meet Professor GOLDWIN SMITH, the following gentlemen were present:

Rev. Dr. THOMPSON,
JOHN A. STEVENS,
Professor JOHN W. DRAPER,
Maj.-Gen. B. F. BUTLER, U. S. A.
M. AUGUSTE LAUGEL, of France,
Hon. GEO. BANCROFT,
GEO. P. PUTNAM,
Dr. WILLARD PARKER,
Rev. S. OSGOOD, D. D.,
Hon. E. D. MORGAN,
Rev. H. WARD BEECHER,
Rev. A. P. PUTNAM,
Rev. A. CLEVELAND COXE, D. D.
Assistant Bishop elect of the Western Diocese of New York,
Professor H. B. SMITH, D. D.
Pro. Sys. Theol., Union Theological Seminary, N. Y.,
CHAS. KING, LL. D.,
PETER COOPER,
Founder of the Cooper Union,
G. W. CURTIS,
GEO. L. SCHUYLER,
Prof. THEO. W. DWIGHT, LL. D.
Law Professor Columbia College,
Rev. G. L. PRENTISS, D. D.

Letters of regret were received from others of the invited guests, most of which are given.

The guests assembled in the library, and at half-past ten took their seats at the breakfast table, which was set in the form of a double T, in the richly-decorated suite of rooms on the western side of the Club House. Mr. CHARLES BUTLER, who presided on the occasion, was seated at the centre of the table in the middle room, with Professor GOLDWIN SMITH, of England, M. AUGUSTE LAUGEL, of France, and Professor VINCENZO BOTTA, of Italy, on his right, and Major-General BUTLER, Rev. Dr. FERRIS, of the University, on his left, with Mr. JONATHAN STURGES, the President of the Club, immediately opposite. The Vice-Presidents who presided at the table were WM. M. EVARTS, Esq., and GEORGE GRISWOLD, Esq. The table was appropriately ornamented with flowers in great profusion, and gracefully displayed. A wreath of laurel lay near the place of Professor GOLDWIN SMITH, and the word "WELCOME" greeted him in flowers of white, red and blue, while the names of "COBDEN" and "BRIGHT" were conspicuous in the floral ornaments before the Vice-Presidents. Two gun-boats and a cutter, with the name of our young hero, "CUSHING," who so daringly destroyed the Albermale, represented the "Navy"; an army shield in flowers, the "Army"; a wheel-barrow of flowers, "Agriculture"; and other similar displays, with a choice selection of American fruits, in which unusually fine clusters of grapes were conspicuous, added to the beauty of the table. The blessing was asked by the Rev. Dr. FERRIS, Chancellor of the University. The breakfast was well served by M. Iauch, the restaurateur of the Club.

At the conclusion of the breakfast, the Chairman, Mr. BUTLER, rose and said:

No one of the distinguished men of England, who have advocated our national cause in that country, has done so with greater effect than Professor GOLDWIN SMITH, whom we now have the honor to entertain.

Looking, from his stand-point, at the great conflict now raging here,—observing it in the light of his profound investigations into the philosophy of history,—he could not fail to see that the supreme issue involved the great problem of the capacity of the people for self-government, and that the cause of humanity and civilization, in all countries, was staked on the result.

His interest in these great questions brought him to our shores, that he might be nearer the scene of action, and a witness particularly of the grand crisis of the late national election, through which we have so triumphantly passed; and he has seen, as we all have, how nobly our Ship of State has borne up under the strain.

With what anxious yet hopeful interest he surveyed the prospect, and with what appreciation he hailed the result, the following expressions may serve to show:

In a letter to a friend, dated Boston, November 7th, he says: "To-morrow will be one of the most eventful days in the history of the world, and, I trust, one of the brightest." After the great bloodless conflict between the sunrise and sunset of that day, on which the destinies of a mighty nation hung, he remarked: "It passed off with all the quiet of an English Sunday."

Under these happy circumstances we greet him, this morning, with sincere cordiality, and desire to exchange with him sympathies and congratulations.

I therefore give place to Mr. JAY, to whom has been assigned the duty of expressing, more at length, the sentiments we entertain for our distinguished guest; after which other gentlemen present will have opportunity to make such expression of their individual views as are befitting the occasion.

Mr. JAY, who on rising was cordially received, then delivered

THE ADDRESS OF WELCOME.

PROFESSOR GOLDWIN SMITH:

On behalf of the gentlemen here assembled, representing in some degree the Religion and Law, the Science and Arts, the Commerce and industry of America, I have the honour to offer you a cordial welcome to New York.

You have come, Sir, to view our country and its institutions, at the most critical period of our history. Whatever doubts may have been entertained at the commencement of our struggle—and doubts were entertained by others than yourself on both sides of the Atlantic—in regard to the issue it involved, those doubts are in a great measure solved. The fact that the United States have become the battle-ground of freedom for the world, is now recognized by enlightened and generous minds on both continents, and the advocates everywhere of exclusive privilege have arrayed themselves on the side of the Slave Power.

In England your eminent co-labourers—Cobden and Bright (loud cheers), Cairnes and Mill and Foster (applause)—have all spoken as became the countrymen of John Milton. In France the names of Laboulaye, (cheers) de Gasparin, (loud cheers) Henri Martin, Augustin Cochin, and Auguste Laugel (cheers)—and M. Laugel's presence to-day adds interest to this Festival in your honour (warm applause)—will be remembered among those, who with the philosophic spirit of De Tocqueville, have read aright the American problem.

But no publicist of England or of the Continent, has in this contest met and refuted more antagonists than yourself, when, in your letter to a Whig member of the Southern Independence Association, you exposed the hollowness of the grounds on which the influential noblemen, gentlemen and traders, thus associated together, were attempting to make "England an accomplice," to quote your own words, "in the creation of a great Slave Empire, and in its future extension, from the grave of Washington to the Halls of Montezuma." (Loud cheers.)

It is an auspicious omen for England, that wise counsels at such a moment should have come from the University of

Oxford, which for eight hundred years has exerted so marked an influence upon the character of British statesmen, and through them upon the destinies of Europe; that ancient and honourable University, which flourished centuries before Columbus discovered America, or Las Casas, in his blind benevolence, inaugurated the system of slavery, whose dying agonies now convulse this continent and send a shudder through the heart of Christendom. In coming ages the students of Oxford will remember with pride that it was her "Regius Professor of Modern History," who, amid the strife of parties and the anarchy of morals, reminded the English people of the lessons taught them by the past—recalling maxims of law which her judges had forgotten, principles of justice which her statesmen had ignored, and international duties upon which sympathizers with slavery-propagandists had been allowed to trample. They will remember that he warned those gentlemen of the Nemesis that would avenge the outrages they meditated on a friendly people, and thus assisted to prevent England from rushing into a war which, for the depth of its infamy, would have had no parallel in history. (Cheers.) While your country is saved from so great a calamity, and in that regard the honour of your government is maintained, and the peace of two nations who ought to be fast friends, is preserved unbroken, you have assured us, and we hail the assurance with satisfaction, that "the malignity which finds its organ in the *London Times* was that of a party, and not of the English people."

In return we can assure you, that the sympathy with slavery and rebellion which you find in New York, however disguised under the name of Democracy, now allied to the enemies of Reform in England, soliciting from Lord Lyons foreign intervention, to assist in the dismemberment of our country, and venturing to insinuate at home that we may be glad to exchange a popular Government for the "acceptable refuge" of "an imperial despotism,"—we can assure you that these are the sentiments of a faction which has been repudiated by the American people. (Cheers.) But you need not our assurance on this point. You already appreciate the fact that this war is no strife between different sections, nor

differing peoples, nor a struggle merely for National life, however pre-eminent is that great issue; but that it is a struggle of antagonistic forces—of the defenders of Freedom against the upholders of Slavery—of popular government against military and aristocratic despotism. (Applause.)

The alliance between the Democratic allies of the slave power in America, and its aristocratic allies in Europe, was conspicuous in the recent Presidential canvass. That election, occurring in so vast a territory, amid a civil war without a precedent or a parallel, will teach the world that the strength of a government which is based upon the will of an intelligent and free people, has hitherto been underrated, even by its friends. It will teach them that no weak desire for repose, no unmanly shrinking from any sacrifice of life or treasure, demanded by truth, and honour, and justice, will ever permit the American people to offer concession or compromise to enemies, who seek by violence and fraud to subvert our Constitution, to divide our country, and to overthrow our liberties. It will make them understand at once, that this nation has resolved that the war is just, and that it shall be prosecuted to the end, for national unity and popular sovereignty, with the near prospect of universal freedom. (Loud cheers.)

The significance of this resolve will be felt in every Cabinet of Europe, and by every philosophic statesman, and we doubt not that your associates and yourself will make its meaning clear to the people of Great Britain: and that all thought of the possibility of destroying the sentiment of American nationality, or of inducing the nation to consent to the dismemberment of the Republic, will be forthwith and forever abandoned. (Cheers.)

You have rightly estimated American institutions as giving to labour its true dignity, and its just reward, inducing an unprecedented foreign emigration, even in the midst of war; an emigration which the allies of slavery in Europe and New York are in vain endeavoring to arrest. You have referred to our institutions as illustrating the fact, and what you have seen during the present week will not impair your argument, that society may repose on liberty as

a sure foundation, and that an educated and free people will reverence the laws they themselves have made, and will, when the occasion requires, combine with calm dignity and moral strength, a colossal military and naval power.

You can judge aright how far the charges of vindictiveness and revenge made against the American people are justified by the conduct of the Government, or the acts and utterances of their victorious Generals. I need not repeat the reply of Major-General Sherman to the Mayor of Atlanta, combining so touchingly the sternness of a soldier with the tenderness of a woman: nor ask whether, in spite of the barbarous treatment of the Union prisoners by the rebel authorities, as established by the report of the Sanitary Commission, a war against rebels was ever conducted with so resolved a purpose to conquer, and so kind a spirit to the conquered. (Applause.) Indeed, among the chief causes for our rejoicing at our Presidential triumph, is the belief that it will ensure the early Emancipation of our Southern Countrymen from the Richmond Tyranny, which ruthlessly tramples, not alone on the National Constitution, but yet more, if possible, on the rights of the Southern States and the liberties of the Southern people. (Loud cheers.)

Europe need not fear that, when this rebellion is suppressed and slavery extinguished, the American people, desirous as they are to return to the industrial pursuits of peace, will retain their great armies in the field, unless European governments, by further intermeddling with our affairs, shall compel us to continue the struggle. (Cheers.) In that case, which, may God forbid, we shall still be assured, using your own eloquent words, that "this great community of labour bears in it, with all its faults, something not uncared for in the counsels of Providence, and which Providence will not let die." (Loud cheers.)

Touching the future relations of America and Europe, while the freedom of the one and the feudalism of the other present features of antagonism that can never perhaps be entirely harmonized, there have been furnished on our part, some grave causes of prejudice and dislike which will vanish with the extinction of slavery and the lust of dominion which

it naturally engenders. (Cheers.) Apart from the insolence and arrogance of the slave power, which have at times marred alike our domestic legislation and our foreign diplomacy, the growing jealousy in Europe of our transatlantic Republic has arisen less from the extent of its territory, or from the magnitude of its army and navy, which were both inadequately small, than from the power of its principles, the marvel of its prosperity and the force of its example.

In view of these, they seemed to fear that the Republic of Washington in its youth might sway the world, as did Rome in its age: *Non ratione imperii sed imperio rationis.*

Closing these remarks, I beg leave to observe that we do not welcome you, sir, to America merely as the Regius Professor of Modern History at Oxford, nor even for what England and America already owe you, nor for what they confidently expect from you, but we cordially greet you as a friend, and as an associate of the friends of liberty throughout the world. (Prolonged applause.)

At the conclusion of the address of Mr. JAY, Professor SMITH responded. Before he began, the company rose to their feet and gave him an impressive welcome.

ANSWER OF PROFESSOR SMITH.

GENTLEMEN: I received your invitation to this entertainment, as I have received all the kindness which has welcomed me here, with feelings at once of pleasure and embarrassment; of pleasure, at finding that an Englishman who, like you, loves liberty and social justice, has in America a second home; of embarrassment, and almost of shame, when I think how little I can possibly have done to merit such attentions.

If a mere writer could ever have been led, by this kind welcome, to overestimate his own services, such feelings would have been banished from my mind when I was present at a soldier's funeral, and saw borne past me the body of one who had given to this cause, not mere words of sympathy, but a young, promising and happy life.

I was not even among the first to perceive the claims of

your cause upon our sympathies; though from the time when it came clear out of the mists which at first surrounded it, as the cause not only of your territorial greatness but of humanity and civilization, and brought out the nobler part of the national character, which to the eye of distant spectators had been at first obscured, it has received the deep and unwavering allegiance of my heart.

On all grounds, then, I accept this honor, not for myself, but for the great party in England of which I am an adherent, and which has followed you with its good wishes through this great struggle. Would that COBDEN or BRIGHT were here in my place, to represent your English friends more worthily, and to acknowledge this tribute in better words than my unpracticed tongue can command.

In truth, little gratitude is due from you to any English liberal who has raised his voice in support of this cause. It is our cause as well as yours. Our hopes of political progress have sunk with your calamities. They will revive with your victories. They will revive with your victories over your enemies in the field. They will revive still more with your moral victories at home.

The tidings are now on their way to England, for which English Liberals have been waiting with intense anxiety, and which will fill their hearts with gratitude, joy and renewed hope. This great triumph—this great ratification of the principles for which you have done and suffered so much, and on which your commonwealth is founded—will cause almost as much exultation in England as it is causing here.

I came here partly in pursuance of my vocation as a student of history, to verify the theory which I had formed. I came to see ~~whether the progress of humanity, which I had learnt to trace through~~ all the ages, and believed to be perpetual, had been arrested here. I shall return convinced that it has not been arrested. I was told that my visit to America would modify my liberal opinions. In a certain sense I own they have been modified. Till I came here I was—not a revolutionist, for no man can more heartily abhor violent revolutions—but somewhat impatient of political evils, and anxious for vehement effort and for immediate change. I shall return

with my impatience allayed by a calm assurance of the future. You will succeed in your great experiment, and we shall in the end feel, in the solution of our political problems, the beneficent efforts of your success.

I came also to see a great political crisis. Would that all those who love, and all those who mistrust free institutions, could have seen it also! Would that they could have witnessed as I have the majestic calmness with which, under circumstances the most perilous and exciting, the national decision has been pronounced. Here is no anarchy, no military dictatorship. In the midst of civil war, a civilian is re-elected as President, by a constitutional process as tranquil as an English Sabbath day. And no king is more secure in the allegiance of his subjects than is the President in the allegiance of all—even those who voted against him—beneath his elective rule.

I would, too, that the English people could witness, as I witness, the spirit of humanity which retains its power over all the passions of civil war, notwithstanding the greatest provocations; and the absence, which has most forcibly struck me during my residence here, of any bloodthirsty sentiment, or any feeling of malignant hatred, towards those who are now your antagonists in a civil war, but whom, when they shall have submitted to the law, you will again eagerly welcome as fellow-citizens, and receive back into the full communion of the free. Many a prejudice, many an error would be dispelled, many a harsh judgment would be canceled, many a bitter word recalled, if only my countrymen could behold with their own eyes what I have beheld and now behold.

I will not on this occasion dwell on the present state of feeling in England towards this country. You know by this time that we are not, as a section of our press would represent us to be, united in sympathy with your enemies, but that in this, as on other political questions, we are divided among ourselves, and that the mass of our people are on your side. Mr. Ward Beecher, who is here present, must have sufficiently assured you of this fact. But I cannot omit on any occasion, least of all on this occasion and in this city, to protest, that all Englishmen [illegible] any regard for the honor of England, or

even for her real interest as a commercial nation, reprobate and abhor the conduct of those shipbuilders and merchants of Liverpool, whose ignoble cupidity, regardless alike of public morality and of the welfare of their country, has brought the two nations to the verge of a desolating war.

No part of the address, which Mr. JAY has made, finds a more cordial response in my heart, or will find a more cordial response in the hearts of my friends, than that which promises future good-will and peace between England and America. One great cause of our transient estrangement has been removed, as Mr. JAY has most truly remarked, since the slave-owner has ceased to fill your councils with his tyrannical spirit, and to inflame the animosity of your people against a nation which, with all her shortcomings and with all her faults, has been the sincere, constant and active enemy of slavery. In the councils of England, too,—at least in the general sentiments of our nation,—a change favorable to the continuance of friendly relations with your country will not fail to ensue when, the alien form of slavery having disappeared, your institutions shall stand forth in their true lineaments and native character, as the first attempt in the history of the world, to found a great community on the principles, on which alone a community worthy of the name can be founded, of common interest and equal right.

Your cause, as I said before, is ours; it is the cause of the whole human race. That all the sacrifices you have made for it may be abundantly repaid, that speedy victory may attend your arms, that victory may be followed by perfect reconciliation, and the healing of all the wounds which civil war has made, and that you may be guided by the spirit of wisdom and of patriotism, through the work of reconstruction, and all the difficulties and problems which remain, is the earnest prayer of thousands and tens of thousands of English hearts, and of none more than of mine.

Professor GOLDWIN SMITH's remarks elicited frequent and enthusiastic applause, and were heard throughout with the deepest attention.

The following letter from PRESIDENT LINCOLN was then read:

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, Nov. 9, 1864.

MY DEAR SIR: I have received your letter of the 5th November, and beg to express my regret that it will not be possible to avail myself of your courteous invitation.

Praying that you will present to your distinguished guest the assurance of my high regard,

I am, very truly,
Your obedient servant,
A. LINCOLN.

CHARLES BUTLER, Esq., 13 East 14th St., N. Y.

After the reading of this letter, the company rose and gave three hearty cheers for the President.

The following letter from the Secretary of the Treasury was then read:

WASHINGTON, Nov. 10, 1864.

GENTLEMEN: Cordially uniting with you in the "desire to do honor to Prof. GOLDWIN SMITH," whose high character and eminent services to the cause of constitutional liberty I acknowledge and appreciate, it would gratify me to be present at your proposed entertainment, and to participate with you in extending to him that grateful welcome he so eminently deserves.

I am, however, reluctantly compelled to forego the pleasure, as the great pressure of official duties leaves me no time for personal indulgence.

Yours, respectfully and truly,
W. P. FESSENDEN.

To Messrs. CHARLES BUTLER, and others, Committee.

The Chairman then stated that this entertainment was designed to be cordial rather than ceremonious; that no formal list of toasts or sentiments had been prepared, nor any particular order of speaking proposed, but so far as possible the friends present would spontaneously give expression to their feelings.

The Chairman would, however, to give an impulse to such "spontaneity," call on the distinguished gentleman at the head of the table, at his right, for some expression.

REMARKS OF MR. EVARTS.

Mr. EVARTS made some pleasant remarks about an injunction he had received to say little himself, but to bring out the gentlemen around him, but thus called upon, he begged to be permitted to say a word concerning the relations of England to our great struggle, now approaching its triumph. Nothing could have been more useful to us, or more grateful, than the voice of the thinking men of England, of which Professor SMITH was to the company the honored presence to-day (applause), and nothing could have been more useful to this nation, and to the English nation, than the response which the man of the English people had made to that voice.

It was the courage and constancy of the common people of England, in bearing their heavy share of the evils and burdens of this conflict between an aristocracy, and the party of equal rights, that had preserved the peace of England at home, and that had tended to maintain it, and had

thus far maintained it with us. (Renewed applause.) The same courage and constancy, which are to be the support of England in all her rightful and just struggles with foreign nations, had preserved her government from the unjust participation in our civil war, to which the ruling class of England were desirous of committing it.

Mr. EVARTS remarked, that, when we saw the intelligent interest manifested by the common people of England in the cause of liberty and equal rights under this government, they having so little enjoyment, or hope of enjoyment, of those rights themselves, we might visit with higher and heartier indignation those public men—those orators, those editors, those writers, those voters in our own country, who have whined and whimpered over the sufferings they tell us *we* have endured in this struggle. (Loud applause.)

One Lancashire spinner, Mr. EVARTS continued, has suffered more from this controversy about rights in regard to which he had but a remote possibility of having an interest for his posterity, than all these false leaders of our own people in our midst. (Renewed applause.) There had been, it seemed to Mr. EVARTS, no sublimer instance of human faith since, in the presence of the Great Master, when the feast was richly spread for the enjoyment of others, there was a patient waiting for the crumbs that might fall from the table.

Mr. EVARTS said that while the English people, in their substance and in their strength, have this virtue, there need be no fear that the two nations would come into unjust controversy. He alluded to the position taken by some English statesmen in regard to the right of suffrage, which he said the people of whom he had spoken were so well prepared to assume; and in conclusion, he spoke of the influence which the masses of England must exert on their government—an influence which could not be long resisted. (Great applause.)

Mr. BUTLER then read the following letter from Major-General HALLECK:

WASHINGTON, Nov. 9, 1864.

Messrs. CHARLES BUTLER, W. C. BRYANT, and others, Committee, &c.

GENTLEMEN: I thank you for your polite invitation to an entertainment proposed to be given to Prof. GOLDWIN SMITH, on the 12th inst.

Did not my engagements prevent, it would give me great pleasure to unite in this compliment to one who has so ably defended the right, and combated the wrong, in his own country; who has discussed in such masterly style, and with irrefragable arguments, the great questions of international law, upon which we have had so much reason to complain of the action of his own government, and who has so thoroughly studied and clearly set forth the questions of humanity, freedom and civil rights involved in the result of our present war. Prof. SMITH has examined this contest with an unprejudiced eye, and pointed out and discussed the great principles at stake, with an honesty of purpose and force of language, for which he deserves and will receive the thanks, not only of this country, but of the friends of freedom throughout the world.

Very respectfully,
Your ob'dt servant,
H. W. HALLECK, *Major-Gen. U. S. A.*

After the reading of this letter Major-General BUTLER was called on to speak for the Army. General BUTLER, on rising, was received with great applause, and nine cheers for Gen. BUTLER and the army were given by the whole company standing.

SPEECH OF GENERAL BUTLER.

General BUTLER said, that before paying that respect and the kindness of feeling which he was sure he could represent from the army of the United States to the distinguished guest, he would accept, not for himself, the kind greeting which the company had offered. [Applause.]

Our army, the General continued, of all those that have ever gone from home to battle for the right, is essentially a reading and thinking army [loud applause], and the fact that the men in the halls of science and learning are carefully examining the course of events, and are approving and sustaining the army in that determined conflict, which it believed and is now sure is for the rights of mankind, adds new courage to the heart, new strength to the arm. [Enthusiastic applause.] And, therefore, he said, he could well give his thanks, as the representative of the soldiers in the field, to our distinguished friend (Professor SMITH), who was among the few in England that seem to bid them Godspeed. [Renewed applause.]

General BUTLER added his assurance, that if the Professor before leaving the country would, as they say in the army, come down to the front, he would there be greeted with cheers, to which those of the present company were but faint murmurs—[loud applause]—murmurs in comparison with the grand chorus which should speak.

In a few weeks, or a few months, the General continued, there would remain, as visible marks of our great conflict, a few green mounds, a few long unsightly lines of earth. But all would not have passed away. The heroism, the bright example of our glorious dead, would forever furnish new teachings of right to coming generations.

General BUTLER, in conclusion, renewed his invitation to Professor SMITH to visit the army, speaking of his own early return, and took his seat amid prolonged cheering.

The Chairman next read the following letter from the Honorable EDWARD BATES, Attorney-General of the United States:

ATTORNEY-GENERAL'S OFFICE,
WASHINGTON, Nov. 11, 1864.

CHARLES BUTLER, Esq.,
Chairman, New York.

SIR: Your letter of the 5th instant, by some accident doubtless, did not reach me until just now, and now I fear it is too late for me to have the pleasure to accept your kind invitation to meet "Prof. GOLDWIN SMITH, of Oxford," at the rooms of the Union League, on Saturday, the 12th of November instant, at ten o'clock.

Few things could give me greater pleasure than to meet that distinguished gentleman—distinguished alike in the walks of literature and in the *science of civil liberty*, so to speak, and especially in such excellent company; but the shortness of the time does not allow me to make any arrangement of my official business so as to brook the absence of a single day. I am, therefore, compelled, Sir, to forego the pleasure of your meeting, so promising of the best enjoyments of mind and heart.

I can only say, in concluding, that the moral and political sympathy of such men as SMITH and COBDEN, and BRIGHT, and their kindred spirits in England, at such a time as this, cannot fail to be indelibly impressed on the American heart.

Most respectfully, Sir,
Your obedient servant,
EDWARD BATES.

Mr. GRISWOLD, the Vice-President at the left of the table, being called upon by the Chair to introduce a speaker from that part of the company, said, that to his great regret the Rev. HENRY WARD BEECHER,* from whom they had hoped to hear, and who had been with them until a few minutes before, had been called away by peremptory parochial duty, but that he had great pleasure in introducing to them the Rev. Dr. COXE.

REV. A. CLEVELAND COXE'S REMARKS.

Though I find myself so sincerely in harmony with the spirit of this festivity that I cannot refuse your invitation and that of my old classmate, Mr. GRISWOLD, to say a few words of cordial response to the address; I yet feel that my first words should be those of explanation. I cannot speak as a politician, for I have never been such, even so far as to vote. Nor if a thorough sympathy with the Liberal party in England be a qualification to pay honour to your distinguished guest, am I entitled even to sit at this table. Candour compels me to say this, in view of the more acceptable expressions which have fallen from others. I can only speak from the deep interest I feel in your guest as a friend of my afflicted country, as an eminent scholar and an ornament to a venerable University, and as the worthy representative of a great and glorious nation.

But it is just because I do not happen to sympathize, in all respects, with the political views of him we delight to honour, this day, that I am the rather glad of an opportunity to pay him my tribute of respect. He has had the sagacity to identify himself with the cause of right in American affairs; and I grieve to say that others from whom whom we expected the same course, as the only consistent course for an Englishman, have bitterly disappointed us.

It does not seem true, to me at least, that any party or any country is the monopolist of all truth. As I am an American of the Americans, from principle and from instinct, so I doubt not, had I been born in England, I should have been found, as a Churchman, labouring with the illustrious Bishop of Oxford, and with such men as Mr. GLADSTONE, against some of the measures to which the Liberal party are committed,

* A letter from Mr. BEECHER will be found at the close of the proceedings.

as respects the Church and the University. But sure I am that nothing could have identified me with any school, or party, of which the conservatism is bat-like, and which refuses to learn anything from the men of progress and the changes of times. As an American churchman, therefore, I desire to bear witness before our English friend, that we lament the course which so many of those to whom we have looked for examples, in England, have chosen to pursue with respect to America. Their course has been retrograde and reactionary! They have severed themselves from the bright names of WILLIAM WILBERFORCE and of the son of Archbishop SHARP. They have become the allies, if not the champions of Slavery; and they have left us to maintain the traditional loyalty of our religion, uncheered and unsupported by those who are the natural successors of the judicious HOOKER, that grand expounder, from whom the whole English-speaking race have learned so much about the sanctity of law, and the worthlessness of any liberty which law does not regulate and restrain from running into license. Thank God! since last Tuesday (the Presidential election) we have fresh encouragement to believe that such is not the liberty which our countrymen intend to propagate. I am thankful, too, that so intelligent an observer as your guest is among us, whose testimony will be that of his own eyesight, and who will record, no doubt, with what sabbath-like order our great election proceeded, and with what majesty its result has been proclaimed and accepted, amid all the confusions of war, and while the most hopeful of us is full of anxieties for the future of the land. Such an event is inspiring, and is of importance to the world; and there is another event which our friend has been here to note and to chronicle, to which I shall be pardoned for referring. I remember to have heard that some of his early academic triumphs were connected with Magdalen College, in Oxford; a dear old college where I was once hospitably entertained, and where, on a May-morning, I listened to the Latin hymn which its white-robed choristers are accustomed to sing, every year, to the Giver of all good. Standing with them on the top of the tower of Magdalen, at the early dawn, I heard the chimes of Oxford announce the moment when the singing should begin; and in the enthusiasm of the occasion I felt that I should never again hear the clock strike with so much exhilaration. But I have lived to hear the clock sound more melodiously; it was on the night of the 31st of October, when the hour of twelve was tolled, and when at every stroke, I seemed to hear the chains fall, from thousands of hereditary slaves, in the good old State of Maryland. It is a State in the happiness of which I feel the most grateful interest, for there many years of my life have been spent, and there my forefathers were dwellers in colonial times. Its rapid progress, and its introduction to a new era of freedom and prosperity are full of historic significance, and no page which our friend shall indite for posterity will be more sure, perhaps, of being read and pondered, than that in which

he shall record that he was present, in America, when Maryland, in one quiet night, while thousands slept, passed through so great a revolution, and in the morning was truly free.

We are happier, then, than the brave men who lived before Agamemnon, in having a historian among us at such a time. If it be asked why the historians who preceded Herodotus have not come down to us, perhaps the true answer is that they were mere fabulists and compilers of old tales, while the father of history was a traveler, and went to see for himself the things about which he meant to write. Your distinguished guest has honoured us with a visit, which will invest his views of American affairs with genuine worth and interest. May he live to give us the benefit of his impressions, and to tell his countrymen the truths they need to know. We all love England, though the formula in which we might just now express it, must be borrowed from her own poet—

"England, *with all thy faults*, I love thee still."

HERBERT said religion was on tiptoe to pass from England to America; but we would not have it literally true, even with respect to a religious love of liberty. Our friend will tell this to Englishmen, and tell them, too, that we mean to be worthy of our sires. He sees us here, to-day, animated with this resolve; but, I must remind him that he sees a remnant only: as was once said to me in a beautiful New England village—"Ah, sir! the best of us are under ground." We hope to labour as we can for a country which has been preserved to us by so much of the best blood of the Nation; but, we must never forget that they are the nobler and truer Americans who have gone into the field, under a solemn sense of duty, and devoted their young lives and all that men hold dear on earth, in behalf of liberty, in support of law, and for the good of the human race.

Dr. COXE's remarks were received throughout with cordial applause.

The Chair then, in a few appropriate remarks, introduced Mr. BANCROFT, late American Minister to England, and the eminent historian of America.

HON. MR. BANCROFT'S SPEECH.

Mr. BANCROFT spoke of the conditions under which more than formally friendly relations between England and America were possible. If, in Britain, there are classes so attached to institutions that have outlived their time, or classes so swayed by transient interests, as to be unable to estimate calmly the great movement that is going forward on this continent, we must remember that there are some British statesmen and British scholars whose judgment has been purified by their sincere love of justice and of truth, and who have penetrated, with faultless sagacity, the nature

of our contest. We cannot see undivided enmity in a country which produces men like BRIGHT, and MILLS, and COBDEN, and their compeers—men to whom England will hereafter look with gratitude, as to the public men who saved her from a perilous and an unprincipled war.

There is an obvious antagonism between some of the still continuing institutions of England and our own. There, land is engrossed by a few owners; here, it is the policy to multiply the homesteads of the free, and we think we act wisely in giving a quarter section of our public land to any one who will live on it. There, religion is connected with the state; the church, in so far as it is an establishment, is subordinate to the laity as represented in parliament; here, by its separation from the state, it rises superior to human enactments, and suffers no intervention of the state between God and the soul. These two systems are so all-pervading in their influence, and so directly in contrast with each other, that there is but one way for the friends of peace between the two nations to avoid an angry conflict; it is to rise into a higher sphere, and ponder upon the two systems with hearts devoted to the advancement of humanity; to fret no more at the antagonisms, but to inquire reverently, which will best work out good for the race. When this manner of studying the differing phenomena is agreed to, we may all, on both sides the water, calmly ask whether a multitudinous body of freeholders or a small and ever-diminishing number of proprietaries best promotes a healthy, creative, and continuous nationality? Whether a parliamentry church, or a voluntary system, varied and yet one, springing from the minds of the free, without interference from the state, is most conducive to vital religion and the inward experience of divine truth? When it is once agreed to consider these questions calmly, with an honest view to the general good, all bitterness passes away, and room is opened for the community of language to exercise its natural influence. The peoples who speak the same English tongue, which is the richest and most varied, the most poetical and the most exact that was ever employed by man, are naturally drawn together. In the war of our revolution, French statesmen were led to contrast the frailty of the Spanish alliance, founded on a family compact of kings, with the probable certainty of an abiding compact of the English and American peoples, kindred in origin and one in speech. The ruling statesmen of England, much to our loss, and, as I believe, still more to the loss of England, have not been willing to welcome such an idea; and, instead of looking upon us with just sentiments of affection and hope, have watched our advancement with distrust and fear. Let us strive to believe that, from our own regeneration, and a greater infusion of popular influence into the British ruling classes, a better day is coming, and a way is soon to be opened, not for an entangling alliance, but for a reciprocity of good-will from the purer and more lasting federation of the kindred peoples, which springs from joy in each other—prosperity and the reciprocity of good-will.

Mr. BANCROFT was interrupted by applause, and concluded amid loud cheers.

Mr. EVARTS, the Vice-President on the right, then called upon Mr. CURTIS, as a representative, alike of American literature and of the best school of American politics, whose services in the cause of freedom have been of late so conspicuous.

SPEECH OF GEORGE W. CURTIS.

Mr. CURTIS said he was reminded by some remarks which had been made of the novel written by the countryman of the guest of the company, Mr. DISRAELI—"Sybil; or, The Two Nations." England, said the speaker, is two nations. We are two nations. Every nation in the world is divided in two. There was the England of JOHN HAMPDEN and the England of JOHN BULL. [Laughter.] There was the America of GEORGE WASHINGTON and the America of JOHN C. CALHOUN.

Our ecclesiastical friend, Mr. CURTIS continued, at the other end of the room (Rev. Dr. COX), says there is an English Church. There is also an American Church—a church of patriotism and nationality; and if his Ecclesiastical Church holds fast to HOOKER of England, let him be assured that the American Church of undying patriotism holds fast to the JOE HOOKER of America. [Loud laughter and cheers.]

Mr. CURTIS continued, referring to the typical England, which had changed, to the impersonated England of the early period, represented by Sir PHILIP SIDNEY; to the true England of JOHN MILTON; to the England which, in the person of our guest, sympathizes with us, and hand to hand and heart to heart, will go down the ages blessing and to bless.

Mr. CURTIS, in conclusion, spoke of the many messages with which Professor SMITH would be charged when he should return across the sea to his home. His eyes had seen the mournful spectacle which our own eyes have so often beheld. Let him say that the hearts that this war breaks are pledged more than ever to the cause that this war defends. [Great cheering.] Let him say in those England homes, that standing on the graves of our young, of our dear, of our beautiful, here in America, we know that after the agony comes the salvation, after the crucifixion comes the resurrection, and those eyes that at this moment weep, those hearts that every day break, see above all the storm, above all the blood and turmoil of the war, our country as she was to be, as she is to be, in her right hand justice, in her left hand law, and burning forever in her eyes the light of universal liberty, in which this land and all other lands shall have eternal peace. [Warm and continued cheering.]

The Chair next introduced M. AUGUSTE LAUGEL, of France, whose admirable and philosophic essays on the American question, in the *Revue des deux Mondes*, had done so much to enlighten the thinking men of

Europe. M. LAUGEL, he was sure, would receive a cordial welcome at their hands, and throughout the country, not alone for what he had himself done, but as the associate and co-labourer of LABOULAYE, DE GASPARIN, COCHIN, BERRYER, and their eminent compatriots in the cause of liberty and civilization.

SPEECH OF M. LAUGEL.

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN:

Never before did I address an audience in another language but my own, but I feel that I must answer in a few words the remarks which have been made, and thank you for the manner in which you have received them. There is nothing for me to add to the high and well-deserved tribute which has been paid to your distinguished guest; you may well say of him what our great heroine Joan of Arc said of the oriflamme at the coronation of her king: "As it has been with me in battle let it be with me at the hour of triumph." For this is an hour of triumph; you have shown to the world that the North is united and in earnest, that your people are determined not only to re-establish the Union, but to extirpate that only germ of disunion among you, slavery. You have shown that your institutions can bear the most severe test, I mean the renovation of the Executive in times of civil war and under conditions of uncontrolled liberty. Leaving these topics, I must beg permission from your distinguished guest and from yourselves, gentlemen, to turn a moment to my own position among you. It is not often that a Frenchman has occasion to address an American audience. Allow me to seize this opportunity and to explain to you, in a few words, what I consider to be the feelings of my people in regard to the great struggle in which you are engaged. Let me first draw a distinction between the French government and the French people. I will not here open an attack against the government of my country, but this I may say, because it is a mere fact, that government, especially in what concerns its foreign relations, is armed with an uncontrolled authority. I have not always been satisfied with its policy. I have deeply deplored the unnecessary haste with which it recognized the rebels of the South as belligerents; but that being once done, I owe it to justice, and I think you owe it to justice, to acknowledge that, whatever may have been its sympathies, it has adhered to the rules of neutrality. Leaving the government, I turn to the people. Here I feel more at home, and I am happy to assure you that the sympathies of my countrymen are almost unanimously on your side. Ask a hundred Frenchmen if they believe in the restoration of the Union, and one in the number, I will admit it, will tell you that he does not; but ask these unbelievers if they desire the disruption of your Union, and all will tell you "No."

Your cause has had that singular privilege among us, to unite people

of the most conflicting parties; it has enlisted legitimists, who remember that the last glorious act of the dynasty they still adhere to has been to help you in the conquest for your independence; it has enlisted Catholics, who see the Catholic churches flourishing among your tolerant people and under the protection of your laws; it has enlisted all the liberals, Orleanists or Republicans; it has enlisted such men as Laboulaye, Gasparin, Cochin, Berryer, our greatest orator; Prévost-Paradol, Forcade, Lanfrey, our best journalists; Henri Martin, our popular historian, and how many others could I not name? Though the forms of government cannot, and, therefore, ought not to be everywhere the same, we all know how much we could borrow with advantage from your institutions, being ourselves a democratic people. We all admire your habits of self-government; we admire your powerful organization of parties, founded on that principle, and which, in the absence of an aristocratic class, are your means of transmitting great political traditions; we admire your public schools, your municipal institutions; we admire the ingenuity of your people in all branches of industry and agriculture.

Having so much to borrow from you, let me say that we have also something to give in return. Traveling over your great country, I have been surprised to find sometimes traces of French influence where I had least expected to find them. In the far West, I have seen a new house-roof built after the fashion of our great architect Mansard. Entering your houses, I see everywhere reminiscenses of French art, of French fashion—that kind of art which we call industrial art, and in which I may say, without false pride, that my countrymen excel, is peculiarly well adapted to the wants and habits of a good democratic community like yours. Let us not despise those humble efforts to bring an æsthetic influence into the channels of daily life. But, if I go to a higher sphere, I will say also that it gave me great pleasure to see how those of your literary and scientific men, with whom it has been my good fortune to associate, are well acquainted with the works of our writers; of our philosophers; of our historians. Well, may all communication, personal, scientific, literary, commercial, become day and day more numerous; may soon the Atlantic swarm with vessels going from your shores to the shores of my beautiful country; may, above all, our tricolor flag and your stars and stripes always meet, as always they have met, to bring tidings of peace and good-will!

M. LAUGEL, who was greeted with the warmest applause, and constantly interrupted with cheers, closed amid loud plaudits.

The Chairman remarked that among those assembled to do honour to their English guest, were representatives of France and Italy. France had spoken eloquently in their friend, M. LAUGEL. He would now call on Prof. BOTTA, late Professor of Philosophy in the colleges of Sardinia, and member of the Sardinian Parliament, and the author of an eloquent memoir of that great statesman of his country, Count CAVOUR. Prof.

BOTTA bore a name familiar to all in connection with American history, and has, as a contributor to the *Rivista Contemporanea* and the correspondent of the *Opinione* of Turin, done his part towards securing a correct appreciation, by Italians, of the history we are now making.

SPEECH OF PROF. V. BOTTA.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Having had the honor of signing the invitation to our distinguished guest, and, in common with the other gentlemen, having delegated to our friend Mr. JAY the pleasant duty of extending to him our cordial welcome, I did not expect to be called on to occupy even a moment of the time, to which so much interest could be given by the eloquent speakers by whom I see myself surrounded. But, as an Italian, I cannot refuse to avail myself of the opportunity thus offered to me to present my thanks to the illustrious Professor from Oxford, for the good services he has not only rendered to the American cause, but also for the sympathy which he, and the liberal party of England, to which he belongs, have shown for my own beloved country.

Italy and America are alike struggling for national unity, the one to achieve, the other to maintain it. Both designed to be great national individualities, having their immutable charters in their natural boundaries, and in the identical ethnographic character of their people, they each find themselves threatened by like destructive forces. From the Middle Ages to our own time, the idea of State sovereignty has been the great obstacle to Italian nationality, and the fertile cause of the evils which have for so long desolated the peninsula. It has armed province against province, city against city, and opened the way to foreign invasion and domination. In America, we behold the same doctrine bearing the same fruits of civil war, and tending to reduce this free country, the advanced guard in the march of civilization, to the condition of Italy in the Middle Ages.

But the parallel between the two countries does not stop here. Besides the disintegrating principle of State rights, we find in both similar institutions, alike antagonistic to the national life—two heads of the same monster—the papacy in Italy, and slavery in America.

The papacy has, for centuries, fomented the jealousies and the prejudices of the Italian cities; it has made state sovereignty the instrument of its intrigues and ambition. Even to-day it shuts out the nation from her ancient Capital, and remains the greatest obstacle to the completion of Italian unity. On the other hand, the influence of the slave power in the United States finds its illustration in the Titanic war, which it has inaugurated. Born of the same parent—the despotism of man over man—these two institutions, however useful they may have been in other ages, have now become fatal to the progress of general civilization, and a standing menace to the existence of those countries where they have taken root.

It is only by blotting them out, without compromise, that Italy and America can secure their liberty and national life.

The identity of the principles involved in the two contests was early seen by that great statesman to whom Italy chiefly owes her resurrection, and who was too soon removed from his elevated sphere of action. Only a few days before his death, in his instructions to the Italian Minister at Washington in regard to the rebellion just then began, Count CAVOUR expressed himself in the following terms: "You will continue to hold with the Government of the Union those friendly relations, to which they have acquired a new title by their prompt and generous recognition of the kingdom of Italy. You will omit no occasion to manifest our sympathies for the triumph of the Northern States; for their cause is the cause not only of constitutional liberty, but of all humanity. Christian Europe cannot wish success to a party which bears on its standards the preservation and extension of slavery, and which, re-establishing letters of marque and privateering, calls into its service a principle condemned alike by human conscience and modern civilization."

In accordance with these noble sentiments, the successors of CAVOUR in the Italian government have been true to the high ideas involved in the American struggle, and I should be unjust to myself were I not to confess that, as an Italian, I feel pride in the thought that the Southern Catilines have never been able to obtain from Italy any one of the many favors which other nations, less faithful to their mission, under the mask of an insolent neutrality, have too often bestowed upon them. No diplomatic dispatches, conveying menaces of intervention, have ever been issued from the government of VICTOR EMANUEL; no word has ever fallen from the ministerial benches or from those of the opposition in the Italian Parliament, which could be construed into a want of respect or sympathy for the American people; no Alabama has ever been let loose from Italian ports to devastate American commerce; no ambassador from the so-called Confederacy has ever been admitted, even by the back door, to the Italian court; and no Italian paper of note has ever had the baseness to seize the moment when a great nation is struggling for life, to attack it by willful and malignant misrepresentations.

Since, then, the cause of Italy is identical with that of free America, it is natural that the liberal party of England, represented by our distinguished guest and his illustrious co-laborers, COBDEN, BRIGHT and MILLS, should have given its support to both countries with equal earnestness and zeal. Equally entitled to the gratitude of the two nations, I rejoice to see that their services to the cause of liberty and nationality are equally appreciated in the new and in the old world.

Professor BOTTA'S remarks were frequently interrupted by applause.

The CHAIR then introduced the Rev. Dr. THOMPSON, known in England as well as America, not only as an eminent divine, and an eloquent and earnest advocate of our national cause,—as the cause of truth, right-

eousness and freedom,—but as connected with that noble organization, the Christian Commission, in which capacity he would call on Dr. THOMPSON to say a few words on this occasion. Dr. THOMPSON, on rising to respond, was received with cordial applause.

SPEECH OF REV. DR. JOS. P. THOMPSON.

I know not upon what ground I am asked to represent the Christian Commission, in which I have no official responsibility, except as a servant is permitted to speak the praises of an institution whose capacity for efficient and beneficent action he has proved in the most trying circumstances. It was the service of the Commission that led me to Gen. Sherman's army with gifts and messages of Christian love, that were dispensed upon the field of Resaca; where the tide of battle was turned from the waters that flow into the Mississippi to waters that flow into the Gulf, and the conquest of the South was definitely assured. The ministry of the Christian Commission to our soldiers in the field, is an exponent of the relation of our Christianity to the war; and our distinguished guest can carry home with him no fact concerning our struggle more significant or more suggestive than this: that from the very beginning of the war, on through every day and every hour of the conflict, as it will do also to the end, our Christian faith has accepted the issue of arms as the issue of moral ideas, and has clung to the cause of the nation as the cause of religion, of humanity, the cause of God.

The devout Christian people of the nation, the vast majority of them, are heart and soul with the Government in the prosecution of the war; and knowing well its fearful costs and pains, and feeling these as Christian hearts feel them, these religious men uphold the war by their gifts and their sacrifices, by their votes and by their prayers. Yes, let Christian England know that we have laid the cause of our nation upon the altar of God; that we consecrate it each Sabbath in the prayers of the sanctuary; that we consecrate it every week in the church meetings for social prayer; that we hallow it more tenderly at ten thousands of family altars, morning and evening; that we give to it a consecration holier and tenderer still, the holiest of all, when we lay our dearest and best in the soldier's grave. I have asked friends in England to weigh the significance of this fact. Why are the Christian people of the United States so unanimous and so earnest in support of the war? Are they as a body ignorant and misguided? No intelligent Englishman would say that. Are they blinded by political zeal or by the fanaticism of party? That will not be charged. Are they bloodthirsty and revengeful, delighting in war and vindictive toward enemies? None dare so accuse them. They stand for the war because they see in it a struggle for all that is dear to humanity and sacred to religion; they stand by the Union and the Government, because they see that the interests of Freedom and of Justice, and the hopes of Christian

civilization in this western world depend upon maintaining these in their integrity. I am happy that we have with us a Christian philosopher who can rightly estimate this aspect of our conflict, and can rightly interpret it to his countrymen.

As I have been sitting at this social table, Mr. President, in the calm unconsciousness of being one of your intended victims, I have enjoyed the contrast of this with a breakfast in London, where I chanced to be the only American in a circle of intelligent and educated English gentlemen. The contrast reverses our ideas of the characteristics of the two nations. I had supposed myself to belong to an inquisitive and talkative people, and my hosts the most reserved and reticent of mortals. But their inquisitiveness about America kept me upon the stand for two hours, hearing and answering questions, and their catechism upon topics of religion and theology was as liberal as our friend could desire for a non-subscribing clergy. Here, we come to listen to the opinions of our guest. Asking no questions, we listen with a predisposing deference to what he has to say to us, and of us. And there is a certain reason in this contrast. We grow up from childhood with a traditional reverence for England. Her past is ours; her history still flows in our veins; her literature is our school-boy task, and the refreshment and rejoicing of our riper years; she is *our* England in thought and ideal, though not in possession; from her we derive the germs of our national life, and of civil and religious freedom; from her came that institutional liberty which is the basis and the strength of all liberty in the State. We must study England, and in studying must revere all that is great and good in her.

But an Englishman has no such motive for knowing and revering us. His eyes are, or have been, directed toward the European continent, whose politics so nearly concern him, and to the affairs of Turkey, of India and the further East. He has known us only to trade with us. When, therefore, this nation began to challenge notice, first by a growth without a precedent, and then by a war without a parallel, it was natural that Englishmen should grow inquisitive regarding America, should seek to know our society, our institutions and our government. I am thankful, as we all are, that this inquisition, at this momentous crisis of our Government, has now been conducted by a gentleman of wide historical research, of a broad, catholic, scholarly spirit, and of philosophical sagacity, who can master this grand and solemn occasion, and can interpret it to the people of England. He will render rightly our verdict of Tuesday.* It is that we are, and are resolved to be a nation, with one organic unity, and one historic life, never again to go back to that old federation of States, which the fathers repudiated in order to a more perfect Union. That verdict means that we are resolved to maintain our Union and our sovereignty in their integrity, as the only way of keeping the nation. That verdict means that the proclamation of emancipation, the arming of

* The national election for President.

negroes, all the steps to which the President has been led in the providential march of freedom, are approved by the people, and will be carried out to the end. That is the message that we send forth to the world by the majestic determination of Tuesday; a verdict for freedom, for order, for justice, for humanity, for a true Christian civilization.

I cannot sit down, Mr. President, without expressing for myself, and for the interests of theological thought, our obligations to Professor GOLDWIN SMITH for his able contributions to the defense of religious freedom, and of the use of reason in theology. Mansel's doctrine of limitations would make it impossible that we should convince ourselves that we have received a book from God, or that there is a God; and on the other hand, Ecclesiasticism would foster infidelity through the weakness of opposing it by church authority. Our distinguished guest would liberate reason from the trammels of a false philosophy, and would liberate the church from the trammels of traditionalism and of dogmatism. Himself honoring that church which, with all its defects, has been so great an honour to the English name, he yet vindicates free inquiry in religion against ecclesiastical control. Perhaps his observation of religious ideas and institutions in this country will serve to illustrate, if not to confirm, his positions at home. To live and grow in a free land, Christianity itself must be free. It must not shrink from discussion; it must not fear philosophy or science; it must use reason and liberty for its own high ends. And rejoicing as I do in the conviction that freedom gives strength to religion, I thank our honoured guest for giving new weight of philosophical judgment to the principles which we in this land are practically demonstrating for the benefit of England and of the whole Christian world.

Dr. THOMPSON'S remarks were frequently interrupted by applause.

The CHAIR next introduced the Rev. Dr. BELLOWS, well known to them in other capacities, but whom he now called upon as the President of the Sanitary Commission. That national institution which had enlisted the sympathies of our people, and compelled the homage of Europe, should not be unrepresented on an occasion like the present, for no institution more truly reflected the patriotism, the humanity, and the adaptive genius of the American people, systematically pursuing their labour of love amid the perils of the battle-field.

DR. BELLOWS' SPEECH.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I find myself invited to address this company gathered round our distinguished guest—to whom I delight to pay all honor—in my character of President of the Sanitary Commission. But it seems to me more appropriate, on an occasion like this, to speak simply in the character of an American citizen. We are all, it is true, engaged in a great national sanitary work, purging the body politic of the perilous stuff in its blood, cleansing the Constitution of its only malady, and even adding

enough surgery to extirpate the foulest cancer that ever lay near the heart of a great nation. To that work, I am far more deeply pledged than to my duties as head of the Sanitary Commission, which, dear as it is to me, and the chief honor of my life to represent it, I count after all of very small consequence when compared with that sublime undertaking which now engages every loyal citizen—the work of saving our National Life and Unity! Sooner than withdraw ~~my hand or my vote~~ from that cause, I would see the Sanitary Commission, with all its mercies, sunk in the sea; for there are none so sick or so wounded as our Country, and in saving her life we minister to the sorrows and heal the diseases of countless generations! I have none of the clerical scruples which one of our respected friends at this board has expressed, either about campaigning, or fighting, or voting. I believe we are forbidden, as Christians, to attempt the propagation of our religion by violence; but He who said, "If my kingdom were of this world, then would my disciples fight," recognized that the civil kingdom—the kingdom of this world—was entitled to the protection of the sword; and as citizens we have duties to the political security and order of our earthly government, for the time being, even more urgent than those which we always owe as Christians to the peaceful kingdom of heaven. I have not only no scruples therefore about "preaching politics" or voting, but none about fighting; and, whenever the moment comes that the country needs my arm in the ranks, or my life in the field, God knows I am ready! [Applause.]

I rejoice, Mr. Chairman, in the academic character of this occasion! We are paying our homage to an Oxford Professor who, out of the cloistered recesses of that ancient and honored University, has, with a scholar's pen, moved the hearts of two nations, and aided in shaping the policy of two governments. It is a tribute to the force of ideas. The pen is indeed mightier than the sword. It is a subject of just pride to Americans that, as a people, they are under the dominion of ideas, and, contrary to the judgment of many foreign critics, highly sensitive to abstract and impersonal considerations. In that respect they resemble far more their French cousins than their English brethren. Our distinguished Parisian guest, AUGUSTE LAUGEL, has noticed our American taste for French fashions, French architecture, and French fabrics. I wonder he did not draw attention to the taste for generalization, for great ideas, and for abstract and ideal objects, which allies the Gallic and the American mind. England produces great thinkers, perhaps all the greater because they struggle up against a general distaste for abstract ideas in the English people; but France is the land not only of philosophers and savans, but of a people easily fired with absolute ideas, and disposed to find generalizations. The English laughed at our enthusiasm when the Atlantic cable was laid. We felt, as a whole people, the vast symbolism of an event which foreshadowed the union of the hemispheres and the unity of the race, and expressed ourselves with the fervor due to so grand a suggestion.

[Cheers.] The English, neither as a people nor by their higher class, seemed to have any perception of an idea which captivated the humblest American heart, and brought all our people into a lofty sympathy. The war has taken hold of our people in the same way, not as a matter of calculation, nor even as a matter of feeling, but as a matter involving great principles and the future of a common Humanity. And all the educated and moralized classes, the professions, and the thinking and guiding minds, have shown an unanimity of feeling truly wonderful. Indeed, whatever is honest and of good report in America is for the war and its unwavering support. The national pulpit has with prodigious agreement sustained it, and the gentle hearts of women, forgetting their own domestic desolations and risks, have beaten steadily with the step of our soldiers. Our colleges, too, it is proper to say in the presence of our guest—a college Professor—have been eminently patriotic and loyal to the Government. Harvard proposes to erect a famous monument in honor of her own students—many of them her noblest and most promising alumni—who have fallen on the battle-field, while one of her professors is a general in the service. The other American colleges have been decimated by the number of students rushing to arms, and in the West some have almost been broken up. It is fit the world should know that the scholarship, the philosophy, the conscience, the educated youth of America, are with the war, heart and soul. And we have here in our guest an illustrious evidence that history and scholarship lift men above popular prejudices, and that universities are, indeed, great lights in the pathway of nations. I recollect when Mr. EVERETT—the most imperturbable and exact of orators, whose name should never be mentioned without honour, not only for his services to literature and scholarship, but most of all for his devoted and energetic patriotism, his continuous and stintless labors in the National cause and the promotion of the war—in a speech at Cambridge, tripped so far as to call those "twin seminaries of learning," Oxford and Cambridge, "twin *cemeteries*." I think those who most enjoyed the significant but most unintentional blunder at the time, would concede that in our guest one of those "cemeteries" had felt the virtue of a tremendous resurrection.

Mr. Chairman, Professor SMITH has given us, in his writings on American affairs, as on all other subjects of his pen, an illustration of the finest union of intellectual with moral qualities. His strength of judgment is only equaled by his delicacy of perception. His solid mind has the base of a pyramid, and is brought to a point as sharp as a needle. With such powers pledged to that common cause, the historic progress, and political and moral elevation of our race, which makes our present conflict sacred and universal in his eyes, we do not regret to see in his friendship the omen of our certain triumph over foreign prejudices and domestic foes!

Before sitting down, it is my duty to call up a distinguished scholar of our own, a true peer of our guest, and, what is strange and pleasant,

bearing the same family name, I mean Professor H. B. SMITH. It was said in a memorable toast at a celebration of General WASHINGTON's birthday, many years ago, "Providence made him childless, that he might be the Father of his country." Of our guest I may say, Providence named him "SMITH" that the largest number of the human race might flatter themselves with some relationship to him. I am very sure the Oxford Professor will never be ashamed of his American cousin our New York Professor of the same great family of Smiths.

Dr. BELLOWS was frequently interrupted by cheers, and when he closed, Prof. SMITH, to whom he had alluded was, on rising to respond, received with cordial applause.

SPEECH OF PROF. HENRY B. SMITH, D. D.

MR. CHAIRMAN: The tribute which I offer upon this occasion, though it may be slight, is sincere; it is that which a student gives to one from whose writings he has received a quickening impulse. The great historians are those who so read the past as to catch prophetic glimpses of the future: the historian himself has been described as a prophet with his face turned backward. In the mirror of the past he sees also the shadowy forms of coming times. And thus he is able in some degree to anticipate the great ends which history is destined to realize. Thus is it in the writings of the Oxford Professor of History, to whom we extend a cordial welcome. He is animated by the belief that the great moral ends of human society shall one day be more fully realized. And thus has he attracted to himself those who also believe in the reality of human progress, under the guidance of Divine Providence.

And he has also rendered to scholars another service, to which allusion has not yet been made. For when the lawful rights and authority of human reason and conscience were assailed in the noted Bampton Lectures of Professor MANSEL, when it was formally denied that reason can have any positive ideas of the Infinite and Absolute, and when it was maintained that there might be an essential difference between morality as viewed by God, and as viewed by man: then our honored guest vindicated the claims of reason and conscience in a criticism and correspondence, which attest his polemic skill and philosophic insight, and which have earned for him the gratitude of all who would not see the basis of theology and of ethics swept away.

Nor is the connection fortuitous between his opinions on these philosophical questions and his noble advocacy of our National cause in the present juncture and crisis. It will occur to every one, that those in Europe who have most ably defended our country have generally been men of deep moral or religious convictions; men who believe that, under the guidance of Providence, public reason and conscience will at last triumph in human affairs. Those that rely upon mere authority and expediency have not been with us.

After what has been said, I need hardly add a word upon the general attitude of England towards our momentous contest. Whatever may be the sympathies, the passions, and the interests of the passing hour, we can at least confidently appeal from the England of to-day to the England of the seventeenth century; to the England that spake by the mouth of JOHN MILTON, who in prophetic vision saw that great future commonwealth we are striving to realize.

> "MILTON! Thou shouldst be living at this hour;
> England hath need of thee."

And not only to the England of the past may we appeal, but also to the England of the future, when the noble cause to which our guest is devoted shall be triumphant; for then these two great, free, Protestant countries, working in peaceful rivalry for a common object, united in the love of human rights and righteousness, shall again clasp inseparable hands, and together girdle the earth.

The CHAIR then called on A. A. Low, Esq., President of the Chamber of Commerce, to speak for the merchants of New York. Mr. Low, on rising, was received with the heartiest applause from every part of the table.

MR. LOW'S SPEECH.

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN: I thank you for the encouragement you afford me. I need it all. I accept in advance the applause, which is not likely to follow anything that I may have to say. Indeed, I am not sure that Commerce has not done its proper part in supplying the substantial elements of your repast, and in bringing to your side our honored guest. But the presence of the gentleman who now sits before me makes a demand on our gratitude which, for myself, and in behalf of the merchants of our city and country, I would fain acknowledge. At the same time I am aware how little is expected of me, and how much of others, on this occasion. With your permission I will, nevertheless, endeavor to illustrate, in a few words, the cause of our deep-felt gratitude.

For four years past, America, loyal America, has had but one thought, one idea, one anxiety; and this anxiety has been an ever-present burden on our hearts. With our early waking, and as we have retired to rest at night, our first and last thought has been about our country, rent, convulsed, devastated, by civil war!

To unite the States by ties of mutual interest, Commerce laid bands of iron along all the courses of our expanding trade, and North and South, from one end of the land to the other, stretched the electric wire, that friend might respond to friend with instantaneous throb, as heart beats to heart with reciprocating warmth.

It is no reproach to Commerce that, having done this and more, it

failed to preserve the peace we so much loved; for all the claims of civilization were disregarded, the ties of consanguinity failed, and the hopes and bonds of our holy religion proved equally unavailing; and I say, again, it is no reproach to Commerce that it could not effect more than all of these.

Mr. Chairman, we are not at a loss to understand the causes of the war; nor is it difficult to trace them to their source. We know what brought it on, and *how* it was brought on. Bitter words, too freely spoken, caused aversion; aversion culminated in hate (openly avowed on the part of the South, but disowned at the North), and hate eventuated in civil war.

Now, sir, I will frankly own, that when we turned to England, at the outbreak of the war, and looked for sympathy, we were disappointed. We expected both encouragement and sympathy, not from one class only, but from all classes, and we got neither. By the press of England, or an influential portion of it, by the aristocracy of England, and by the mercantile class generally, we were treated rather with abuse.

When the Alabama issued from the port of Liverpool, and commenced her career against our shipping, the Chamber of Commerce remonstrated, in a series of resolutions, expressing the belief that a repetition of the act —of the fitting out vessels like the Alabama from the ports of Great Britain for the destruction of our commerce, would cause widespread exasperation. But the Chamber took care to connect with this warning an expression of the sincere desire of the merchants of our country "to cherish sentiments of amity with the people of Great Britain, to maintain the cordial relations which have led to profitable intercourse, and to strengthen the ties that knit them together in mutual courtesy and respect."

To these friendly sentiments they got no response.

It was reserved to the distinguished gentleman who is to-day with us, and to a few others of kindred heart and thought, true noblemen all, to send us the words of good cheer for which we are profoundly grateful.

So, too, at a later period, when the passions of the American people were much excited by the destruction of their ships at sea, and the two *rams* building on the Mersey by the very firm that fitted out the Alabama, were almost ready to launch their iron peaks against our blockading squadron, how imminent was the peril! It was then that the eloquent voice of our friend, rising above the teachings of History, burst forth in the language of an earnest but dispassionate protest. Who will undertake to measure the value of this fervid utterance of the scholar and patriot in averting a war between the two countries?

And now, sir, since we have seen how difficult it is to preserve peace between communities bound together by the strongest ties of interest, and how the tenderest relations, social and religious, may be sundered through pernicious teachings, can we not discern the danger of indulging in the language of unjust aspersion, of severe invective, when so much depends

on the preservation of good relations between England and the United States?

Praise be to those filling responsible places in either land, whose words are temperate, just, and wise, and make for peace!

For ourselves we will honour all such; and when we speak of Old England, as we love to speak of Old England, we will not take to our lips the names of her titled Lords, nor of British statesmen, as a class, or even of Liverpool merchants; but we will repeat, again and again, the names of COBDEN, BRIGHT, and FOSTER, and last, not least, of GOLDWIN SMITH; and we will bed them in our hearts as we plant choicest flowers in our gardens, to spring up ever with new fragrance and new beauty; not like the transient flowers to pass away, but to remain an abiding, perennial, imperishable treasure.

Sir, it is related of NAPOLEON, that when in Egypt, standing by the pyramids that rise above the sands of the desert, he said to his soldiers, "From yonder pyramids forty centuries look down upon you," forty centuries speaking from the tombs and graves of all that was once great in the days of Egyptian grandeur.

It is not so here. We are surrounded by the monuments that commerce has created; where literature, science, and art have garnered their richest stores; and in this city of living souls, a single century *looks up*, appealing to those gifted of speech, the good and great of every land, to speak in behalf of human progress, civilization, and Christianity.

As our friend retires from this scene, so full of promise, and returning to his native land, carries with him the assurance of our warm regard, we beg that he will take to those other friends of our country, of whom honourable mention has just been made, the expression of our sincere and grateful homage. And may all continue to speak and write, so as to help on the cause of good government in our land, and thus uphold the vast interests of mankind, that are connected with and depend upon it.

Mr. Low was frequently interrupted with applause and cheers.

The CHAIR here called upon Dr. KING, the late President of Columbia (formerly King's) College, as he was about leaving the room, and said that he could not, in justice to the company, consent to his retiring until they had had the pleasure of hearing from him a parting word. Dr. KING, amid cordial cheers, retraced his steps, and responded:

DR. KING'S SPEECH.

I did not expect, Mr. President, to take any other part in this gratifying reunion, than that of silently bearing the testimony of one more loyal citizen, to the eminent service rendered to our cause by our honoured guest, and of respect for his high character and scholarly attainments. For this purpose, I have come up from my country retreat,

and rejoice to meet such a gathering in behalf of such a man, and at such a moment, too, when the stern and almost fierce emotions of the great conflict through which we have just passed are still palpitating.

At such a moment it is a gratification to meet and have the opportunity of rendering our hearty thanks to the distinguished scholar who, faithful to the teachings of History, which in the time-honored University of Oxford, it is his province and privilege to illustrate; and, true to the instincts and traditions of a free-born Englishman—early detected the true cause and aim of the atrocious rebellion we are fighting, and disdaining the clamors of prejudice, and all selfish calculations, lifted up his voice on high to proclaim to his countrymen, and to the world, that Humanity, Liberty, and Civilization, were all on our side, and that Oppression, Barbarism, and Slavery, were the cause of the rebellion. That voice found an echo in all loyal hearts, and stirred them to yet greater efforts in behalf of a cause thus advocated from afar, and presented to the conscience and understanding of Europe by a disinterested and most qualified interpreter, as the common cause of Christian freemen, and as appealing, in the name of the age, and of countless generations yet to come, to the good wishes and moral support—we sought and desired no other—of all peoples and civilizations.

After all that has been so well and eloquently said here already, I shall not trespass upon your patience. I came to hear and see and not to speak, and in truth the reaction consequent upon the intense and long-continued strain of the yet palpitating conflict, finds me little capable of any exertion. Confidence, indeed, in our success, I never lost, for I have faith that the Great Being who made for our fathers a path through the sea to the new world, and has sustained and so wonderfully fostered this people, had not worked such miracles in vain; that it could not enter into his design that a God-fearing and a God-led nation should be obliterated ere yet it had reached its prime, and trodden under foot by the barbarian hosts of slavery. In this firm faith, in my limited sphere, I worked zealously—not, indeed, without human misgivings, as now and then old associates of honoured names dropped away from us, reappearing in the opposing hosts—not "all their original brightness lost," yet, alas! how changed and how associated!

But the conflict and its agonies have passed! and we have triumphed —how gloriously, how fully, how peacefully! It is a delight to know that our honoured guest and friend had the opportunity of personally witnessing the conflict and the triumph. It is indeed a spectacle for good men and for angels to behold—that which we have witnessed and are witnessing. Millions of men, free as men in nations can possibly be in the midst of a desolating and fierce civil war, calmly, lawfully, orderly, casting little bits of paper—each for himself—soldiers in their camps, equally with civilians at their quiet homes—into a ballot-box—and then retiring in undoubting confidence, to await the result; and that result, once proclaimed, meets uni-

versal acquiescence—no threats, and scarcely a murmur—and the whole course of social, civil, and political life resumes its calm and equable tenor as though no storm had passed by.

This is a chapter of modern history which our honoured friend, the Regius Professor in the University of Oxford, will know how to illustrate, and the record which he will bear of what he saw, will not be open to doubt or question; and that voice which, by its manly utterance and ringing eloquence encouraged us to heroic bearing in the battle, will again be heard throughout Christendom, proclaiming that Right has triumphed over Wrong; that there is a Future in this chosen land for the sorrowful and down-trodden of the old world—that there is a God in History.

Dr. KING'S remarks were warmly applauded throughout.

The CHAIRMAN then desired to introduce Mr. SAMUEL B. RUGGLES, Representative of the United States at the recent International Statistical Congress at Berlin, and to hear something from him in regard to our national condition.

REMARKS OF MR. SAMUEL B. RUGGLES.

When the history of the literature of our nineteenth century shall come to be written, it will record the fact, that in the year 1864, a learned and conscientious scholar, eminent for his love alike of truth and of freedom, left his tranquil abode and quiet academic pursuits, in the venerable University of Oxford, to cross the wide Atlantic,—to behold and study a continent convulsed and heaving with the most widespread and bloody rebellion recorded in the annals of man. Like Thucydides of old, who personally saw the events which his classic pen recorded, our modern student has deemed it necessary to visit the scene of our great American conflict, and, as an eye-witness, to survey the giant features of a struggle so far transcending, both in details and results, the war which the Greek historian has embalmed for the instruction of posterity.

It was not alone the array of numerous armies, with the potent and varied appliances of modern warfare, nor yet the skillful and energetic movement of fleets and legions throughout a continent,—nor even the display, on a scale so vast, of physical courage and patriotic endurance,—which our intelligent and welcome visitor has come out to survey and record. His philosophic intellect, warmed by a generous nature, has sought for and found a higher and nobler field of study and reflection. The calm but sympathetic words just fallen from his lips, assure us that his head and heart have been engrossed in the contemplation of a scene far more elevating and instructive; that his inmost soul has been filled by the mighty, moral spectacle, of a continental host of free and intelligent, unarmed and unawed electors, numbered not by myriads but by millions, quietly assembling from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and, by their peaceful ballots, firmly and irrevocably determining the character and the destiny of their Government for countless ages.

We congratulate ourselves, and still more do we congratulate the lovers of historical truth throughout the world, that a witness so competent and so impartial, was here to behold the immense array; to carry back to Europe and into history, a political picture so continental, so multitudinous, and yet so simple and majestic. In behalf, moreover, of enlightened national government, the great necessity of modern times, we also rejoice that a judge so upright was present at the trial of the mighty issue, so distinctly presented, between order and disorder, between settled government and endless anarchy; to hear and to welcome the solemn verdict reverberating from ocean to ocean; to enter up and record the sublime and final adjudication which proclaims to the civilized world, that the People of the United States of America are a Nation, and not a League of States or Nations; that, by their own inherent power, they indestructibly created and constituted a Government,—a political unit, one and indivisible,—the creature, not of a compact, but of a Constitution,—a living, growing organism, not to be dismembered, emasculated or enfeebled, but permanently to remain on earth, a great and beneficent Continental Power, in the full and undisputed exercise of its lawfully established authority.

Nor is it strange, that the far-reaching consequences of the Great Election of the eighth of November, worthy to be forever kept as a national anniversary, should engage the profound attention of our enlightened visitor, accustomed, as he is, by academic studies, "to trace the progress of humanity through all the ages." His range of vision, sweeping backward and forward through the centuries, discerns at once the parallel, not only in the past, but in the future, between the two great nations of the globe, whose fortune and whose privilege it is to speak the English tongue. For who can tell more truly than the Regius Professor, whom we have met to welcome, the story of the birth of his own old England a thousand years ago, amid the throes of the dying Heptarchy? Who can estimate more justly the political insignificance of that miserable group of jarring and discordant States, some of them no larger than our own little Delaware, but each claiming to be "sovereign;" whose petty bickerings and Lilliputian wars, during the darkness of four long centuries, are stigmatized by MILTON, as no more worthy of historic narrative than "the skirmishes of kites and crows?" Who can prize more highly than our guest the statesmanship of EGBERT, or of ALFRED, in gathering up and fusing into a solid mass, those wretched scraps of "sovereignty," re-issued to the world as the single, undivided realm of "England," and sent down into history to play a part so commanding in the great drama of European progress? But what was the union of the Heptarchy, what was the genesis of that powerful kingdom, but the prototype and prefiguration of that transcendent event in American history, that great and signal act of statesmanship which evoked the American Union from a jarring, incoherent and ricketty "Confederation" just crumbling into anarchy and ruin?

What were EGBERT and ALFRED, as political architects, but precursors of our own consummate HAMILTON and his patriotic associates, framers of the Constitution which called into being the Continental Republic of the Western world, to march side by side with England down the coming ages?

The striking parallel in the growth and development of the two great germs of continental power, thus planted by the British race on the eastern and western shores of the Atlantic, are obvious to every philosophical observer; but who can delineate more accurately than the scholar now before us the steady expansion of the England of ALFRED,—the very root of the British Empire,—not only pushing out and entwining its shoots around the British Islands, but grasping every salient point in the Mediterranean, the Gulf of Mexico, and the far-off Indian Ocean? Who can behold with more honest pride than himself, the royal banner of the United Kingdom floating over the broad expanse of British America, the majestic basins of the Indus and the Ganges, and her own undivided Anglo-Australian continent beyond the equator,—the mighty links in that continental chain, separated by intervening oceans, yet practically united in one world-encircling empire, by the omnipresent power of her imperial navy?

With possessions so vast, fruits of a national life so vigorous, is it for England to propose or even to desire the dismemberment of the American Union, the work of her lineal offspring in this Western Hemisphere? What if the narrow fringe along the Atlantic occupied by the Thirteen States of our infant nation, has widened into a continental zone, studded with six and thirty stars, glittering from ocean to ocean,—have we done aught but follow the parental example? With the blood of old England flowing in our veins, will she not permit us to prepare the wilderness she gave us for an inheritance, as a receptacle and asylum for at least her own over-crowded millions? Will she not consent, to spare us yet a little, that we may uncover the mountains of gold and silver garnered up by Providence to meet the cost of saving our Nation's life? Isolated as we are between two oceans and confined to a single continent, how can we endanger the safety or the peace of the world? Can we become more dangerous or aggressive within our single continental belt of little more than twenty degrees of latitude, than imperial England with territory stretching nearly from Pole to Pole? Let us say to our friend and guest, and let him assure his countrymen that we, the People of this Republic,—united and indestructible,—seek only to put to its proper use the portion of the earth which the Great Architect of nations has committed to our care; that we propose to make it the permanent abode of civilization, humanity and freedom; that we know the work which we are set to do, and, by God's grace, intend honestly and fully to do it.

We cannot, and will not, think it possible that the upright and en-

lightened portion of the people of England would willingly behold the dismemberment of a co-equal and kindred Power, of their own lineage and tongue, aiming at ends so grand and beneficent, still less that they would openly seek to destroy our national life by re-establishing the sovereignty of our separate States—burying a continent for ages in anarchy and misery so far exceeding all that was suffered by our parent land under her ancient Heptarchy. But where, let us ask, would have been the civilization, the progress, the glory of England, if that petty cluster of independent States had continued to exist? Could little Essex, or Sussex, or Kent, or even East Anglia, or North-Humberland, have singly won the fields of Agincourt, or Waterloo? Which of them could have emancipated from bondage a single slave in the smallest of the British West India Islands?

Our valued friend has frankly told us that his sympathies for our cause in the conflict he is here to record, are due not to our "territorial greatness," but to the "consequences to humanity and freedom" which it involves;—in a word, that our primary object in suppressing this rebellion, should be the abolition of slavery, leaving the preservation of our nationality to be subordinate and secondary. With all possible respect, we beg to assure him that such is not the sentiment of the American people, nor such the verdict pronounced on the eventful eighth of November. On the contrary, their judgment was and is, that the Nation and its Government must first be saved, as an indispensable pre-requisite to any effort to rid the Republic of African slavery. That great preliminary work, by the blessing of Heaven, is now virtually accomplished. The necessary exertion of the military and naval force of the Union may not be fully ended, but the moral victory, establishing its national sovereignty, is complete; and it only remains for the Government, by a discreet but energetic exercise of the powers it lawfully enjoys, or may soon acquire under the Constitution, effectually to prevent the revival, by eradicating the cause, of the fearful struggle which has so deeply interested our honoured guest and the friends of freedom and humanity throughout the world.

Mr. RUGGLES' remarks were listened to with great interest, and he was repeatedly interrupted by applause.

The Rev. Dr. PUTNAM, of Brooklyn, was next called upon.

REMARKS OF REV. A. P. PUTNAM.

MR. CHAIRMAN: It is indeed a peculiar delight to be present on an occasion like this to do honour to the distinguished friend of our country whom we see before us, and whom it has been our pleasure and privilege to hear. No one has proved himself a truer friend of America and of American institutions than he, and no one has more intelligently understood and more ably presented the issues which are involved in the great struggle in which as a nation we are engaged. Indeed when at home I have read the writings of these trans-atlantic friends of ours, or abroad

have listened to their eloquent voices, I have sometimes thought that they seemed to apprehend the nature and appreciate the sacredness of our cause, even better than we are wont to do ourselves. The service which they have rendered us has been of vast importance. From personal observation and experience on other shores, I can myself testify to the immense numbers of people whom their words have there reached and rescued from hurtful error. One meets them everywhere in England. "Oh, sir," said to me one day at Southampton an English lady who had been instructed by the words of your eminent guest, "Oh, sir, it is a holy war that you are waging, and whatever may be the course which our government and our nobility may pursue, there are thousands of hearts and homes, here in the old country, from which fervent prayers daily ascend to God that He may grant you the victory." Generally speaking, those who are well informed about our affairs prove to be our friends. The intelligence of our friends is matched only by the ignorance of our enemies.

Professor SMITH has been charged by the speakers who have preceded me with various messages to his countrymen. There is one, however, which seems to have been omitted, and which it might be well for them to receive.

It is a most gratifying circumstance that the war has had the effect to educate us as a nation to a most wonderful degree, in all that constitutes manly character and independent spirit. It must indeed be acknowledged that, at the outset, and for some time after the struggle commenced, we were altogether too sensitive to the criticisms and aspersions of our foreign foes. It was a weakness that can no longer be laid to our charge. Disciplined in the severe school of adversity we have become strong and self-reliant. The nation's countenance is now stern and grim. We understand very well what we are about, and our purpose is as changeless as fate. Henceforth, while we are grateful for the good opinion and the friendly services of all who think well of us, we are equally indifferent to the bad impressions and the base attacks of those who think ill of us. Let him say, then, to all who would fain injure us, by word or deed, that, conscious of the high destiny to which we are called, we shall pursue it with steady and unfaltering devotion, while we neither covet their favor nor fear their power. [Warm applause.]

Our noble friend, as he sails from our shores, will bear with him the blessings of multitudes of our people with whom his name has already become a familiar household word. The names of GOLDWIN SMITH, and of those who have been so eminently and honorably associated with him in the advocacy of our cause in other lands, are henceforth identified with the history of our great national conflict for the rights of man, and in the long future of union, liberty and peace which is in reserve for our now afflicted country, they will never cease to be held by Americans in grateful and loving remembrance. [Loud cheers.]

The CHAIR next introduced Mr. PETER COOPER, the venerable founder of the admirable institution that bears his name; an institution whose vast benefits in popular education and art instruction, not to speak of its well-furnished reading-room, have already been enjoyed by thousands of our citizens. [Hearty applause.]

MR. PETER COOPER'S SPEECH.

I fear, Mr. President, that it will be like presumption in one who has lived a long life devoted to mechanical labor, with only time to observe passing events, to attempt to interest you after all the eloquent speeches to which we have listened with so much pleasure.

It will be, Mr. President, exceedingly difficult for us to overestimate the value of the services rendered by our distinguished friend in this time of our nation's struggle for life, with the terrible heresy of secession and the fearful despotism of slavery—a despotism the most vile and unrelenting that ever spread death and desolation over a country.

In the midst of all our sufferings as a nation we have rejoiced to find the voice of our honoured guest, in connection with other noble spirits in foreign lands, speaking boldly in defense of the great cause of human rights.

The able manner in which our guest has advocated those democratic republican principles on the successful application of which we must forever depend for the proper dignity of labor, with all the rights and interests of a common humanity. His able defense of these great principles entitle him to the love and gratitude of every American freeman.

The trying condition of our country, and the occasion for which we have assembled, brought to my mind those lines of the celebrated Dr. YOUNG, when he says that wisdom is not the growth of action, but of reflection on the actions of life. He then says that the man who reflects not, never reaps; has no harvest; carries the burden of age without the wages of experience, and knows himself older only by the parish register and the contempt of mankind.

The scenes through which our country has successfully passed, and is now passing, opens up one of the richest fields from which to gather wisdom by reflecting upon the history and the experience of the past, that was ever offered to the contemplation of the patriot, the statesman, or philosopher.

In this open field of the past can be found all those encroachments upon the rights of a noble race of men which brought on the revolutionary war, with all those scenes and incidents that resulted in securing for a great nation a union of States, with all the inestimable rights of individuals to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

It is to maintain and defend these rights that we are now enduring the untold sufferings brought upon our country by that fatal heresy of seces-

sion,—a heresy the very mother of anarchy, that has already buried hundreds of thousands of brave Americans, who have nobly died battling to defend our glorious constitutional government,—a government formed and founded by our fathers expressly to promote the general welfare by a system intended to embody, in the forms of law, the highest wisdom, virtue and intelligence of a whole people bound together in a perfect union of States never to be broken.

For such a government our fathers might well pledge their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor, to rescue from oppression a great people, who had braved the dangers of an unknown ocean and a wilderness life in the hope of working out for themselves and their posterity a great and glorious destiny among the nations of the earth.

We may well again say, with the poet, that it is greatly wise to talk with our past hours, and to ask of them what report they bring, what advice they give to guide us in the future. Our fathers had gathered wisdom sufficient by reflecting on the history and experience of the past to see from what small beginnings of error in principle great national calamities had arisen.

We may well learn a lesson of wisdom from an ancient fable that will illustrate the cause of all the horrors through which our country is now passing. That ancient fable describes a ferocious animal that was in the habit of laying its eggs in the sands of a southern shore, where a child could destroy them. These eggs, when allowed to hatch under the power and influence of a southern sun, would soon grow into terrific monsters sufficiently powerful to drive whole communities from their homes. Unfortunately for our country and the world, we have allowed the egg of slavery to hatch and grow into strength sufficient to require the whole power of the nation to overcome it. Slavery, like every other species of cruelty and injustice, must forever bring wretchedness and ruin in its train.

We may well gather an additional lesson of wisdom from an occurrence in the early settlement of New Orleans. At that time a war broke out between the French settlers and the Indians. The prisoners then taken by the French were sent to St. Domingo, and sold as slaves. The blood of those Indians soon mingled with the blacks on that island, carrying with it the Indian ideas of justice by which they are taught to wreak their vengeance upon those who willfully injure them without a cause.

These ideas of justice, handed down from father to son with a recollection of the cruel bondage in which they were then held—a bondage from which there seemed no way of escape, but by the entire destruction of the race that then held them as slaves.

Let us indulge the hope that a kind Providence is preparing the way to liberate the slaves of our country by showing to their masters how much they can better their condition by hiring them as *men* instead of holding them as slaves, and thus save our country from such horrors as fell to the lot of the French settlers in St. Domingo.

For one, I find it out of my power to express the gratitude I feel for our honoured guest, and all the noble band of foreign patriots who are aiding us by word or deed in our battle to defend those eternal principles of truth and justice on the application of which we must forever depend for all future improvement in the condition of mankind. [Applause.]

Dr. OSGOOD was then called upon, and received with cheers.

DR. OSGOOD'S REMARKS.

It is somewhat late in the day for a speaker to expect a patient hearing, yet I cannot but say a word of sympathy and honor for our guest, as a representative of that broad and free Christian thought that is now making an era in the Church of England. It is most comforting to find that so large and worthy a body of men, who accept a supernatural revelation and a historical church, are such champions of Liberal ideas, and do not shrink from claiming a place for all generous culture and true humanity within the kingdom of God and the fold of Christ. They find much affinity with our best American scholars, as has been manifest in our proceedings here, especially in the tribute of our New York master of philosophy, Prof. HENRY B. SMITH to Prof. GOLDWIN SMITH, of Oxford, for vindicating the rectitude of the human reason against the skepticism of MANSELL and others. Oxford is not surely altogether a piece of antiquarian dignity and dust; and the school of history to which our guest belongs not only records the events and ideas of the past, but presents the men and the motives of the great heroic ages as abiding and living forces in modern society, or as parts of the life of our race.

We are glad to belong to that generous historical school here, and not only to welcome to our fellowship this gifted and truthful scholar, but also to receive as our own all noble Englishmen who have helped onward the cause of civilization. MILTON'S name has been spoken here to-day, and WORDSWORTH'S sonnet has been quoted:

> "Milton! thou shou'dst be living at this hour."

Why not believe the poet's wish granted, and trust that the great liberty man of England is still at work in the free mind of Englishmen everywhere, and stirring the heart as well as molding the speech of all who speak the English tongue. If I am not mistaken, last Tuesday, November 8th, was the anniversary of Milton's death—the date of his passing from a light of earth to a star of heaven. The American people were not thinking of commemorating a poet's genius, or his life or death, on that day; yet they did unconscious honor to his name; and the liberty of thought and action, which Milton so nobly defended, never took a greater stride forward than on that noted Tuesday, that marked the triumph of our national life, and the virtual downfall of the slave oligarchy.

The name of ALFRED, too, has been mentioned to-day, and a fit illustration of the worth of our Union has been drawn from his service in bringing to unity the jarring elements of the old Saxon Heptarchy. In honouring an Oxford professor, it is well to remember what a hand that great king had in founding the literature of England, even if it cannot be proved that he founded the University of Oxford. If you will excuse me, as head of the Library Committee of our Club, for throwing a scrap of book-learning upon your genial table, I may say, that in a copy of a German almanac which came to hand last week, the name of Alfred the Great was affixed to October 29th, as of a sacred person whose life may be meditated upon by the Christians of Germany with more edification than the Spaniard St. NARCISSUS, whose ghostly honors had been made to yield to the glory of the English monarch, hero, and man of letters. It is well to remember him now, and to wish that England had been always, and especially of late, true to the spirit of his reign. He was her great Unionist; and with what face can the people who live in an empire whose sections were united by his arms and counsels, ask us to consent to have our country broken into fragments, and our national life lost by the mutilation of its members, the scattering of its limbs. ALFRED subdued GODRUN, the Dane, to his sceptre and religion, and gave him the counties of Suffolk, Norfolk, and Cambridge for his domain. What would England say, if those counties now set up the banner of Secession, and claimed the old license of freebooting and Paganism? What people on earth are such sticklers for the unity of the realm as the English, even in the case of colonies over which they have not the claim of vicinity, blood, and language. Had all Englishmen been as true to the spirit of Alfred as our guest, the rebellion would long since have lost its most powerful ally, peace would have opened the hearts and the markets of our North and South to each other, and the weavers of Lancashire would be of good cheer.

The language and literature of England are with us in the genius of the great king. Liberty and law are incorporated into the vocabulary, and the slave oligarchy is obliged to expunge the best words from the English dictionary, and the best thoughts from the great masters, and have a press and an art of its own. Alfred's jury and Alfred's Bible are alike out of place under the rebellion flag, and the sentence written in his Testament, "The English ought to be as free as their thoughts," needs careful qualification among those who insult the English blood by forcing us who have it in our veins to live under the black code that sanctions the sale of men and women, and sets up the law of the lash and the chain, the gag and the blood-hound.

Alfred founded the navy of England, and this first lord of the seas allied the naval power with laws, with letters, and humanity. He, who revived and fixed the right of trial by jury, gave his kingdom her first rule of the ocean. His service is not forgotten, and Victoria has an Alfred

among her sons, and has placed him in her royal navy. May the name be well worn, as it is well won. Some of the high admirals may profitably meditate upon the early and the latter days of their craft, and revise their principles and policy in respect to the commerce of our free America. Then the outrage may cease that arrays so much of the wealth and pride of England against us on the seas, and belies old English ideas, to pamper the new avarice and caste.

Thank God that the true spirit is not lost, and such friends as our guest side with our loyal navy, and not with the pirates who steal their flag to insult our own. Thank God for the great conflict in the English seas, that gave our flag its due in the eyes of the nations. If kings still haunt their realms, and ALFRED hovers over the waters that his fleets once ruled, there can be little doubt where he belonged in that sea-fight. Not with that pirate craft, Alabama, that went down near the pit so congenial with her infamous career; not with that yacht of NICHOLSON, that played the part of second, or pander, to that pirate and crew; but with the stout and loyal Kearsarge, and with our noble WINSLOW, the great sea-king would have taken his stand, and rejoiced in every gun that carried sound Anglo-Saxon principles as well as iron balls from its muzzle into the corsair's hull.

But why dwell more upon these illustrations of the idea with which I started—that true history is the record of the kingdom of God and humanity, and not only truths but moral powers live and move in its pages? My closing sentiment is this:

"The true navy of Christendom; not the ally of pirates, and man-hunters, and covenant breakers, but the champion of law and letters, humanity and religion. As it was in the beginning, so let it be in the end."

Rev. Dr. OSGOOD was repeatedly interrupted with applause, and sat down amid cheers.

The CHAIR next called upon Mr. DODGE, not alone as an eminent representative of the merchants of New York, but as one of the standard bearers of the national party of freedom in the late contest, in which he was supported for election to the next Congress of the United States. [Warm applause.]

HON. WM. E. DODGE'S SPEECH.

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN: At this late hour I will detain you with only a word.

We have been for a long time surrounded, both at home and abroad, with an atmosphere so depressing that, in spite of all our efforts, we have at times found it hard to rise to the appreciation of the fact that we were not, as the opponents of the Government would fain have it, a ruined people.

I am sure our respected friend, as he has passed through our country from city to city, has seen no evidence of such ruin; but that, on the contrary, he has witnessed everywhere the evidence of our rapid growth and increasing prosperity; and I beg him to understand, and bear with him across the water the fact that in no three years of our history have we increased so much in material prosperity, as in the last three. In the midst of a great civil war, our imports and exports are a wonder to ourselves (the former being as great as when in former years cotton formed two thirds of our exports); our internal traffic has been beyond all precedent; the receipts of our railroads have more than doubled, and our merchants, as they look at their business and their balance-sheets, know that they are not ruined.

We beg our friend to bear these facts with him on his return home, and to tell them to the merchants of Liverpool, and other English cities; but he can at the same time say to them that while the American merchants have not been ruined, they would willingly submit to even that, if it should be necessary for them to do so in order to save our Union. [Loud cheers.]

Mr. Parke Godwin, the accomplished author of a history of France, and editor of the *Evening Post*, was then called on to speak for the Press.

SPEECH OF MR. GODWIN.

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: I came to listen, not to speak, and I have listened so delightedly that I really have nothing to speak. Nevertheless, as the men of the press are summoned always towards the ends of occasions, they have in them very much of the spirit of that little powder-boy who was on board the Varuna in the great battle of Farragut at the mouths of the Mississippi. When the vessel, having passed through the flames of the fire-ships, was about to sink, Captain Boggs made his way to the shore, where he found his little gunner standing with his hand to his hat, saying, "Captain, ready for duty." So it is that we of the journals who are not leaders, perhaps, but who certainly furnish a good deal of powder—[Laughter and applause]—must be always "ready for duty."

Being ordered to the work, I shall fire my gun, and retire for the next man.

Most of those present know that I have lately had a personal experience, which a man seldom passes through more than once in his life. I have been upon a railroad [laughter]. (Mr. G. was exposed to the accident on the New Haven Railroad, on the 10th of October.) Somebody asked me how I felt in that supreme moment, when I was face to face with death. I answered that the feeling was too supreme to admit of expression. But afterwards, my first thought was one of thankfulness to God, who had

preserved their lives; the second was of my immediate family, and the third of my friends. Now our country had passed through a somewhat similar experience. [Applause.] It had been passing through "the valley of the shadow of death." But every true American, when we emerged from it, as we did so gloriously by the election of Tuesday last, thought first that he should fall down on his knees and thank Almighty God for the deliverance. His second thought must have been for his family—those brothers of ours who have gone down to the front; and how the news must have cheered them on their lonely picket-stands, and how, as the cold rain was falling upon their unprotected bodies, these words of cheer would warm them into a new glow. They were the men who had given to the country, as our good President said at Gettysburg, not words, as we do, which will be scarcely remembered, if heard of at all hereafter, but deeds that will never be forgotten. [Loud applause.] In the third place, he thought of our more distant friends, those who are not by consanguinity of our family, but are yet our friends,—of those dear ones abroad,—of that good DE GASPARIN, who, in his prayers to God, never forgets to implore a blessing for the cause of liberty and Union in the new world [great applause]; of the generous, intrepid, persuasive LABOULAYE, whose essays were models, alike for the statesman and the scholar; of that accomplished, warm-hearted HENRI MARTIN, the historian of France, who, amid the grandest scenes of revolution in his own country, feels that a mightier revolution than France ever experienced is going on now and here, and one in which he is more deeply interested than in any of the contests of his ancestors. [Renewed applause.]

He thought, too, Mr. GODWIN said, of our friends in England, of that just and noble man COBDEN, small in stature but gigantic in intellect,—[cheers]—who, when he enters the House of Commons, after having heard the news of our election, will stand, both mentally and physically, at least twelve inches higher. [Laughter and cheers.] He thought, also, how that most eloquent and fearless of modern Englishmen, JOHN BRIGHT, would flash his electric eloquence around the heads of the aristocracy with a rekindled brilliancy and a double vigor. He thought, too, how the news of the election, so immense in its issues, so mighty in all its bearings, so tranquil in the manner of it, would go into the homes of the common people, to gladden their hearts in the new hopes for humanity; how it would penetrate the cheerless cabins of Ireland; how the eager people of Italy, struggling for national unity, would feel that their cause has received a powerful reinforcement; how in Hungary they would welcome the glad tidings; and how in free Switzerland, from the tops of the Alps, they would shout it to the answering choirs of the very heavens. [Loud and long continued cheers.]

The CHAIR remarked that, assembled as they were, in the rooms of the UNION LEAGUE CLUB, there was a peculiar propriety in their hearing from its patriotic President, Mr. STURGES, before closing their festivities.

REMARKS OF MR. JONATHAN STURGES.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Perhaps it would not be precisely in order for me to address our distinguished friend as the guest of the Union League Club; yet, as you have called upon me as the President of the Club, I will take the liberty to repeat what I have said on a previous occasion.

It is our duty and privilege to extend our hospitalities to those eminent men who render great services to our country, whether in civil or military positions; nor let us forget those lovers of the human race who visit our shores from foreign countries. To such men as MILNOR GIBSON, COBDEN, BRIGHT, GOLDWIN SMITH, THIERS, GASPARIN, and other statesmen, soldiers and literary men who love freedom and do justice to our country, let our doors be thrown wide open—[loud cheers];—and I now extend to Professor SMITH, on behalf of the Union League Club, its hospitalities, and assure him that nowhere in America will he, at all times, receive a more cordial and appreciative welcome. [Hearty applause.]

The CHAIR called upon the Vice-President at his right, Mr. EVARTS, to close the festivities of this interesting occasion with a few parting words, a call to which that gentleman thus responded:

MR. EVARTS' CONCLUDING REMARKS.

It only remains, Mr. President, that, under your authority, I should bring to a close this festive reception in the same spirit in which it was conceived, and, in the cordial co-operation of this company, has been carried out.

To greet GOLDWIN SMITH,—to pay the homage of our respect and gratitude for the great aid to the cause of our country, which, before all England and against all odds, he and his noble companions among the Liberals of Great Britain, have so generously given, to raise, if it might be, some new interest and even warmer sympathy for us, in the minds and hearts of these, our friends, by the personal impressions which such occasions are suited to convey;—these were the motives which brought us together, in this free and hearty interchange of thought and feeling. I am sure we shall part with the assurance that none of these objects have been disappointed.

As we separate—our guest so soon to regain the shores of his happy country, and we to the unspent labors which this afflicted nation yet demands from all its loyal strength—let us carry with us one great lesson of peace and good-will between us and that people, from whom so much that makes up our life is drawn. Mother of our religion and our law, of our literature and our science, of our language and of our blood, the imperishable laws of human society insure an intimacy of relations between England and the United States, which casual and temporary estrangements cannot long obscure, and can never destroy.

In the progress of human affairs, Mr. President, we have passed that period when the family compacts of kings, the *cordiale entente* of cabinets, the written stipulations of treaties, even, could wholly or greatly determine the relations between nations. Community of purpose and consent as to the true ends and aims of advancing civilization, an universal transfusion of intelligence and of ideas, these produce an intermingling of the pulses of the heart between nations, compared with which the formal aids or obstacles to peace between them are trivial and contemptible.

May GOLDWIN SMITH, then, as he brought with him the happiest offerings of good-will to us from the sober thought and manhood of England, carry back an equal, nay, an abounding promise that these ties of our obligation to the people of his country shall never be forgotten.

The following letters received from gentlemen who had been invited to meet Prof. GOLDWIN SMITH were announced, and in part read by the CHAIR:

LETTERS.

From the Hon. S. P. Chase, late Sec'y Treasury, U. S.

CINCINNATI, November 10, 1864.

DEAR SIR: Your note of the 5th instant, inviting me in behalf of a Committee of citizens of New York, to an entertainment to be given to Professor GOLDWIN SMITH, on the 12th, was only received this morning.

I am sorry that it is not in my power to accept your invitation.

Just in proportion to the dissatisfaction with which loyal Americans most regard the practical sympathy of the British Government with the slaveholders' rebellion against the Union, should be the esteem and honor in which they hold those noble Englishmen in and out of Parliament, and of every class whose more magnanimous and disinterested sympathy has been with the Union against that rebellion.

On this roll of honor, among the highest names with those of JOHN BRIGHT and RICHARD COBDEN, Americans will delight to record that of GOLDWIN SMITH.

Yours, very truly,

S. P. CHASE.

CHARLES BUTLER, Esq.

From Prof. Tayler Lewis.

UNION COLLEGE, Schenectady, Nov. 10, 1864.

DEAR SIR: It is a grief to me that very poor health prevents me from having the high pleasure of meeting Prof. GOLDWIN SMITH on the occasion to which you refer. There is no man in England or America whom I should be more glad to see, or take by the hand.

During our sore troubles, the thing I found it hardest to bear, has been the attitude of England towards us, as exhibited by so many of her leading men, political, ecclesiastical, and literary. It has been made more severe by the thought that, with all their claim to antiquity and a higher culture, they were still our near kindred, who, on that account, should have sympathized with us in the day of our calamity; in view of this there has often come to mind the language of the Psalmist against those, in like kindred relation, who showed a

similar desire for the destruction of the Jewish nationality: "Remember, O Lord, the children of Edom, in the day of Jerusalem, who said, Raze it, Raze it, even to the foundation thereof."

But the feeling is gone at once when I think of friends like Prof. SMITH and the other strong men whom he represents on the other side of the ocean.

For their sakes we will love England still,—the England that now is with all its apparent unfriendliness; and the England to come when such men shall have the place that belongs to them in her political organization.

"Peace be within her walls and prosperity within her palaces." For these, "*our brethren and companions' sake*, will we say, Peace be within thee;" because of our common Christianity, and our common freedom; "because of the house of the Lord our God, we will seek thy good."

God be thanked for such men as Prof. SMITH and BRIGHT, and others that come immediately to mind in connection with them. "Their names are like ointment poured forth." Their remembrances will be like oil upon the troubled waters. The thought of them will quiet every revengeful feeling that might otherwise arise out of our past and present relations.

With great respect,

Yours truly,

TAYLER LEWIS.

CHARLES BUTLER, Esq.

From the Hon. W. M. Meredith.

PHILADELPHIA, 10th Nov., 1864.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge your letter inviting me, on behalf of the Committee of the Union League of New York, to be present at an entertainment to be given to Prof. GOLDWIN SMITH, of Oxford.

I deeply regret that the state of my health prevents me from accepting this invitation. The service which Prof. SMITH has rendered to the cause of Free Government everywhere, by his spirited and judicious publications, cannot be overestimated. To him, and to Messrs. COBDEN and BRIGHT, we are especially indebted for their efforts to enlighten the public mind of England on the true merits and vital importance of the contest which is now raging among us. The people of the loyal States are unalterably resolved to put this rebellion down, effectually and permanently, and in the hour of their great struggle they cannot be insensible to the sympathy of liberal and generous foreigners, like him whom you are now about to honor.

I am, sir, with great esteem,

Your ob'dt friend and serv't,

W. M. MEREDITH,

President of Union League of Phila.

CHARLES BUTLER, Esq.

From Prof. Oliver W. Holmes.

21 CHARLES STREET, BOSTON, Nov. 11, 1864.

DEAR SIR AND GENTLEMEN: I regret that I cannot renew the pleasure I have had in meeting Professor GOLDWIN SMITH, by accepting your kind invitation. It would not only have delighted me to enjoy your company and that of your guest, but I feel that none of us can express too strongly, too warmly, or too often, the obligations we are under to that noble man; better worthy of honor than most of those who impair the significance of these two words by joining them.

I am, gentlemen,

Yours, very truly,

O. W. HOLMES.

From the Hon. Edward Everett.

BOSTON, 10 Nov., 1864.

GENTLEMEN: I have received your obliging invitation to be present at an

entertainment to be given by you to Professor GOLDWIN SMITH, of the University of Oxford, on the 12th inst.

No one can more highly honor the character or appreciate the services of Mr. SMITH, than I do.

He was among the first to discern the true nature of the unprovoked war carried on by ambitious men against the mildest and most beneficent of governments, and he has been among the ablest of the able and eloquent writers and speakers who have defended our cause in England. He has been received in this neighborhood with the respectful attentions due to the noble stand he has taken at home, and I rejoice to see that the citizens of New York are preparing to pay him the same well-deserved honor.

Deeply regretting that my engagements in Boston put it out of my power to accept your kind invitation, I remain, gentlemen,

Very respectfully yours,
EDWARD EVERETT.

To CHARLES BUTLER and the Gentlemen of the Committee.

From Dr. McClintock.

289 4TH AVENUE, 11 November.

CHARLES BUTLER, Esquire, Chairman, &c.,

DEAR SIR: I regret that I cannot venture to accept the invitation to meet Professor GOLDWIN SMITH at breakfast, on Saturday. I am too unwell to endure even so pleasant an excitement as this gathering will afford.

Your distinguished guest deserves this honor, and all others we can give him. He is a "light in a benighted land." Thank God that he and others have helped to save our old mother England from going into total darkness and moral eclipse in this great day of decision, which tests so truly the moral stamina of men and nations.

Very truly yours,
JOHN McCLINTOCK.

From Major-General Dix.

HEADQUARTERS, DEPARTMENT OF THE EAST,
NEW YORK CITY, 11 NOV., 1864.

MY DEAR SIR: Your note of invitation to the breakfast to be given to Professor GOLDWIN SMITH, did not reach me till last evening. I very much regret that it will not be in my power to meet him and bear testimony, as I should be very much gratified to do, to his high character, and his friendliness to the cause of stable government in the United States.

I am very truly yours,
JOHN A. DIX.

CHAS. BUTLER, Esq.

From the Hon. Horace Greeley.

OFFICE OF THE TRIBUNE,
NEW YORK, NOV. 11, 1864.

DEAR SIR: I deeply regret that ill health, and the duty of going to-night to my long deserted country home, will prevent my attendance at the breakfast to Professor GOLDWIN SMITH to-morrow morning. I wish it were otherwise; but I am completely worn out with the labors and anxieties of the canvass. I desire to add, that, in honouring Professor SMITH, you honour the dear old cause of Freedom and Justice, the cause of Right and of Humanity.

Yours, HORACE GREELEY.

RICHARD M. HUNT, Esq., Sec. Com., &c.

From the Hon. Senator Harris.

ALBANY, November 11, 1864.

MY DEAR SIR: I am but now in receipt of your favor of the 5th instant, inviting me to be present at an entertainment to be given to-morrow morning, at the rooms of the Union League Club, to Prof. GOLDWIN SMITH, of Oxford.

I rejoice that it is in the hearts of our friends in New York thus to honour one who deserves so much at the hands of patriotic Americans. Rising above the jealousies and prejudices which have marked the conduct of so many of his countrymen, Prof. SMITH has steadily and nobly maintained the justice of our cause, and our right to preserve our national existence.

I regret that I am obliged to deny myself the pleasure of meeting the gentlemen who will be present on the occasion, and uniting with them in the well-merited tribute of respect which they propose to pay this distinguished Englishman. The object commends itself to the warm approbation of every loyal heart.

Yours, with esteem,

IRA HARRIS.

The Hon. CHARLES BUTLER,
Chairman, &c., &c.

From the Hon. Senator Sumner.

BOSTON, 11th Nov., 1864.

DEAR SIR: I wish that I could be with you in the well-deserved honors you propose to Prof. GOLDWIN SMITH, but I cannot.

He is one of those valued English friends who have been friends indeed.

At a time when jealousy and hate seemed about to prevail against us, he stood forth in our behalf. He saw the wickedness of an attempt to carve a slave empire out of this Republic, and protested against the support which was given to the crime. The help which he gave at the time was decisive.

But, in this good service to our Republic, he served his own country, which was happily arrested in its plunge towards infinite baseness. It would be difficult to say whether he had done most for the honour of England or for the good of the United States.

Believe me, dear Sir,
Very faithfully yours,

CHARLES SUMNER.

CHARLES BUTLER, Esq.

From Rear-Admiral Paulding.

NAVY YARD, NEW YORK, Nov. 11th, 1864.

GENTLEMEN: I have the honor to express my sincere thanks for your invitation to be present at the reception of our distinguished visitor, Professor GOLDWIN SMITH, who has so consistently, and with the high tone of character that belongs to his class of generous Englishmen, always faithful to the sentiments of justice and magnanimity, upheld the cause of humanity, in sustaining the efforts made by this country, to suppress a rebellion that has no parallel for infamy, in all the outrages that have been committed upon mankind.

I should be most happy to participate in the welcome to your noble guest, and regret that my public duties and responsibilities here will prevent my being present on an occasion that has my warmest sympathy.

I am, Gentlemen, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

H. PAULDING, Rear Admiral U. S. Navy.

To CHARLES BUTLER, WM. M. EVARTS, JONATHAN STURGES, &c.

From the President of the N. Y. Historical Society.

76 University Place, Nov. 10th, 1864.

To Charles Butler, Esq., Chairman Committee of the Union League Club.

My dear Sir: I am favored with your invitation to meet Professor Goldwin Smith at breakfast, at 10 o'clock, on the 12th inst. It would afford me peculiar pleasure to be present on that interesting occasion, to unite in doing honour to this friend of our country, who has so nobly and eloquently upheld our national cause, amidst the evil reports and perverted judgments of his own countrymen.

But an engagement which I have in vain sought to postpone, from the apprehended loss to a trust fund, compels me to decline the compliment paid to the Society which I have the honour to represent.

With great respect, I am your and the Committee's
obliged and obedient servant,
FREDERIC DE PEYSTER, Prest. N. Y. His. Soc'y.

From Professor Dwight, of Columbia College Law School.

Clinton, Oneida Co.
New York, Nov. 10, 1864.

Dear Sir: Owing to the death of a near relative, I was unexpectedly called out of town yesterday, and shall consequently be deprived of the privilege of breakfasting with Professor Goldwin Smith on Saturday next. I regret this extremely, both because of the positive pleasure which I should receive, and because I should be glad to pay a tribute of respect to Prof. Smith, for his learning and sagacity, as well as for his firmness and moral heroism, in unflinchingly maintaining, in England, our unpopular cause.

With great respect,
Yours, very sincerely,
THEO. W. DWIGHT.

Charles Butler, Esq., Chairman, &c.

From the Hon. Henry Winter Davis, of Maryland.

Charles Butler, Esq.,

Sir: I regret very much my inability to join you in doing honor to Professor Goldwin Smith, to whom all Americans are under so many obligations.

But I was prevented by complications at home which threatened to deprive us of many of the most important fruits of our free constitution. I was thus so entirely engrossed as to render my acceptance of your polite invitation impossible; and it was received at so late a day that I was unhappily unable to reply before the day fixed for the entertainment.

I trust we shall find the benefits of his visit in the influence he must exert on English opinion, hitherto so perverse and inimical.

Very respectfully,
Your obedient servant,
Baltimore, Nov. 17, 1864. H. WINTER DAVIS.

The following letter from Rev. Henry Ward Beecher is in response to the call made upon him by Professor Goldwin Smith in his reply to the address of welcome:

Brooklyn, Nov. 30, 1864.

Mr. Charles Butler,

Dear Sir: At your suggestion I very gladly corroborate by my pen the statements of Prof. Goldwin Smith, to which he asked my witness respecting

English feeling toward America. I was sorry that imperative engagements obliged me to withdraw as soon as he had done speaking.

My own feelings and judgment underwent a great change while I was in England. Coming from home aglow with patriotic enthusiasm, I was chilled and shocked at the coldness toward the North which I everywhere met, and the sympathetic prejudices in favor of the South. And yet, everybody was alike condemning slavery and praising liberty!

I soon perceived my first error was in supposing that Great Britain was an impartial spectator. In fact, she was morally an actor in the conflict. Such were the antagonistic influences at work in her own midst, and the division of parties, that, in judging American affairs she could not help lending sanction to one or the other side of her own internal conflicts. England was not, then, a judge, sitting calmly on the bench to decide without bias; the case brought before her was her own, in principle, and in interest. In taking sides with the North, the common people of Great Britain and the laboring class took sides with themselves in their struggle for reformation; while the wealthy and the privileged classes found a reason in their own political parties and philosophies why they should not be too eager for the legitimate government and nation of the United States.

All classes who, at home, were seeking the elevation and political enfranchisement of the common people, were with us. All who studied the preservation of the State in its present unequal distribution of political privileges, sided with that section in America that were doing the same thing.

We ought not to be surprised nor angry that men should maintain aristocratic doctrines which they believe in fully as sincerely, and more consistently, than we, or many among us do, in democratic doctrines.

We of all people ought to understand how a government can be cold or semi-hostile, while the people are friendly to us. For thirty years the American Government, in the hands, or under the influence of Southern statesmen, has been in a threatening attitude to Europe, and actually in disgraceful conflict with all the weak neighboring powers. Texas, Mexico, Central America and Cuba are witnesses. Yet the great body of our people in the Middle and Northern States were strongly opposed to all such tendencies.

I look upon the lasting peace and cordial union of Great Britain and the United States, as indispensable to the highest prosperity of each, and as of vital interest to the progress of that form of Christianity which enlightens and empowers the common people of the world. The co-operation of Great Britain and the United States insures a glorious future: their rupture and hostility, evil to both of them, would reserve its worst results to be poured upon the already overmatched common people of Europe.

I hear God's Providence saying, in solemn warning and persuasion, "Blessed are the Peace-makers."

I am, my dear sir,
Very truly yours,
H. W. BEECHER.

Notes of regret were also received from

Rear-Admiral BREEZE.

The ~~Hon. CHARLES G. LORING, of~~ Boston.

Brigadier-General GEO. W. CULLOM, Superintendent of the Military Academy at West Point.

~~RALPH WALDO EMERSON, Esq.~~, of Massachusetts.

DANIEL HUNTINGTON, President Academy of Artists.

Hon. S. R. BETTS, Judge U. S. Dist. Court.

Hon. MURRAY HOFFMAN.

ROBERT LENOX KENNEDY, Esq.

PRESENTATION OF AMERICAN BOOKS

TO

PROFESSOR GOLDWIN SMITH.

No sooner was the idea suggested of a parting gift of American books to our English guest, than it met with a prompt and liberal response on the part of authors, publishers and friends, who cordially seized the opportunity of such a donation, not only as an appropriate compliment, but as a desirable means of reference at Oxford.

Harper & Brothers, of New York, contributed the Historical Writings of Hildreth, Draper, Brodhead, Geo. T. Curtis, Lossing and Baird, the Cyclopedia of Commerce, with many smaller volumes of local or biographical interest; D. Appleton & Co., their valuable New American Cyclopedia; Little, Brown & Co., of Boston, the histories of Winthrop, Bancroft, Palfrey, and Parkman, the series of American Biographies, edited by Sparks, with his Writings of Washington, etc., the Works of Fisher Ames, Chief Justice Story, Daniel Webster, Bartlett's Dictionary of Americanisms, and several important Law Treatises; from Charles Scribner were received two masterly volumes on the English Language, by the Hon. Geo. P. Marsh, and his recent treatise entitled "Nature and Man," Woolsey's International Law, Smith's Chronological Tables, America and her Commentators, etc.; from Geo. P. Putnam, Irving's Life of Washington, the Life and Letters of Washington Irving, The World's Progress, Lyrics of the War, the Rebellion Record, Character and Portraits of Washington, etc.; from Widdleton, an elegant edition of Poe's Writings, Chapman's American Drawing Book, etc.; from Derby & Miller, the Portrait Gallery of the War, etc.; from Edward Walker, the American Statesman's Manual, in four elegant octavo volumes; from Miller & Matthews, "Old New York," by Dr. Francis; from Geo. W. Childs, of Philadelphia, Allibone's Dictionary of Authors, the National Almanac, Kane's Arctic Expedition, etc.; from J. B. Lippincott & Co., of Philadelphia, Rush's Writings, the Federalist, Blodgett's Climatology of the United States, the Universal Gazeteer, Rhee's Manual of the Libraries and Institutions of the United States, and a series of Scientific and Economical Works, with several in the department of Belles-lettres; from the Smithsonian Institute, a valuable series of works relating to the Patent Office, the Resources of the United States, the History of Legislation, etc.; from Ticknor & Fields, of Boston, copies of their choice publications, including Emerson, Hawthorne, Holmes, Longfellow, Whittier, Lowell, Winthrop, Baker, Howe, Ticknor, Higginson, etc., in many instances the gift of the authors; from Hon. Edward Everett, Hon. John P. Kennedy, F. O. C. Darley, Hon. S. B. Ruggles, W. T. Blodgett, John Jay, J. Lorimer

Graham, Jr., G. W. Curtis, H. T. Tuckerman, Bayard Taylor, W. C. Bryant, D. T. Valentine, and many other various and interesting works. When completed this collection of American books will form an adequate library of reference, and prove, when the catalogue is made out, a most creditable and interesting illustration of the literary development of the country.

LETTER TO GOLDWIN SMITH.

NEW YORK, Dec. 5, 1864.

DEAR SIR: It is with great pleasure that, in behalf of our authors, publishers and others,—who have witnessed with grateful admiration your candid and eloquent [illegible] more appropriately connected with you, who have so earnestly labored to disseminate truth and awaken a just spirit of humanity.

I am, dear sir, very truly yours,

HENRY T. TUCKERMAN.

Professor GOLDWIN SMITH.

REPLY.

NEW YORK, Dec. 8, 1864.

DEAR SIR: My most hearty thanks are due to you, and to all those who have united with you, in this act of courtesy and kindness towards your English guest.

No gift could be more welcome to one so deeply interested as I am, in all that relates to American history, intellect and character. I shall regard these books partly as a trust placed, by you and your friends, in my keeping: on my shelves they will be open to all who may wish to consult them; and I shall be most happy if they are the means, in my hands, of diffusing a better knowledge of America than, to the misfortune of both nations, but especially of mine, has hitherto been possessed by most English critics of American affairs.

My visit to America is now drawing to a close; and this pleasant gift crowns three of the happiest and most instructive months of my life. I shall bear with me to England the memory of great enjoyment, a most grateful sense of the overflowing kindness which has everywhere surrounded me, and a desire stronger, if possible, than ever to see friendship reign between the beloved land of my birth and the almost equally beloved land which I am now leaving.

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HENRY T. TUCKERMAN, Esq.

ERRATA.

Page 4, 7th line from bottom, for "Albermale" read *Albemarle.*
Page 14, 5th line from bottom, for "man" read *mass.*
Page 11, 11th line from top, for "great struggle" read *long*, &c.
Page 12, 4th line from top, for "efforts" read *effects.*
Page 13, 3d line from top, for "regardless" read *reckless.*
Page 13, 3d line from top, for "*from* the purer" read *for*, &c.
Page 20, 3d line from bottom, for "other—prosperity" read *other's prosperity.*
Same page, next to last line, for "other—prosperity" read *other's prosperity.*

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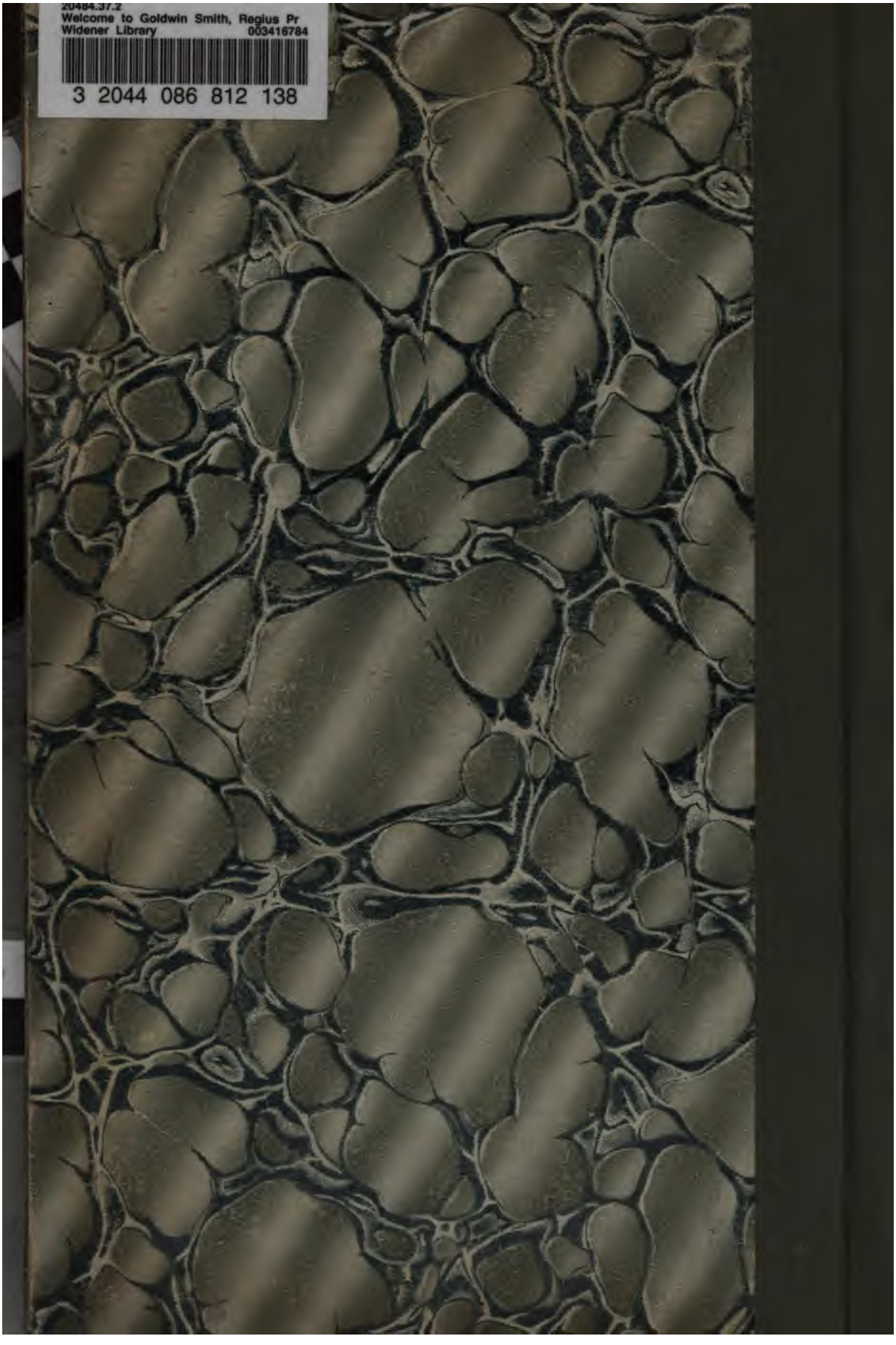
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